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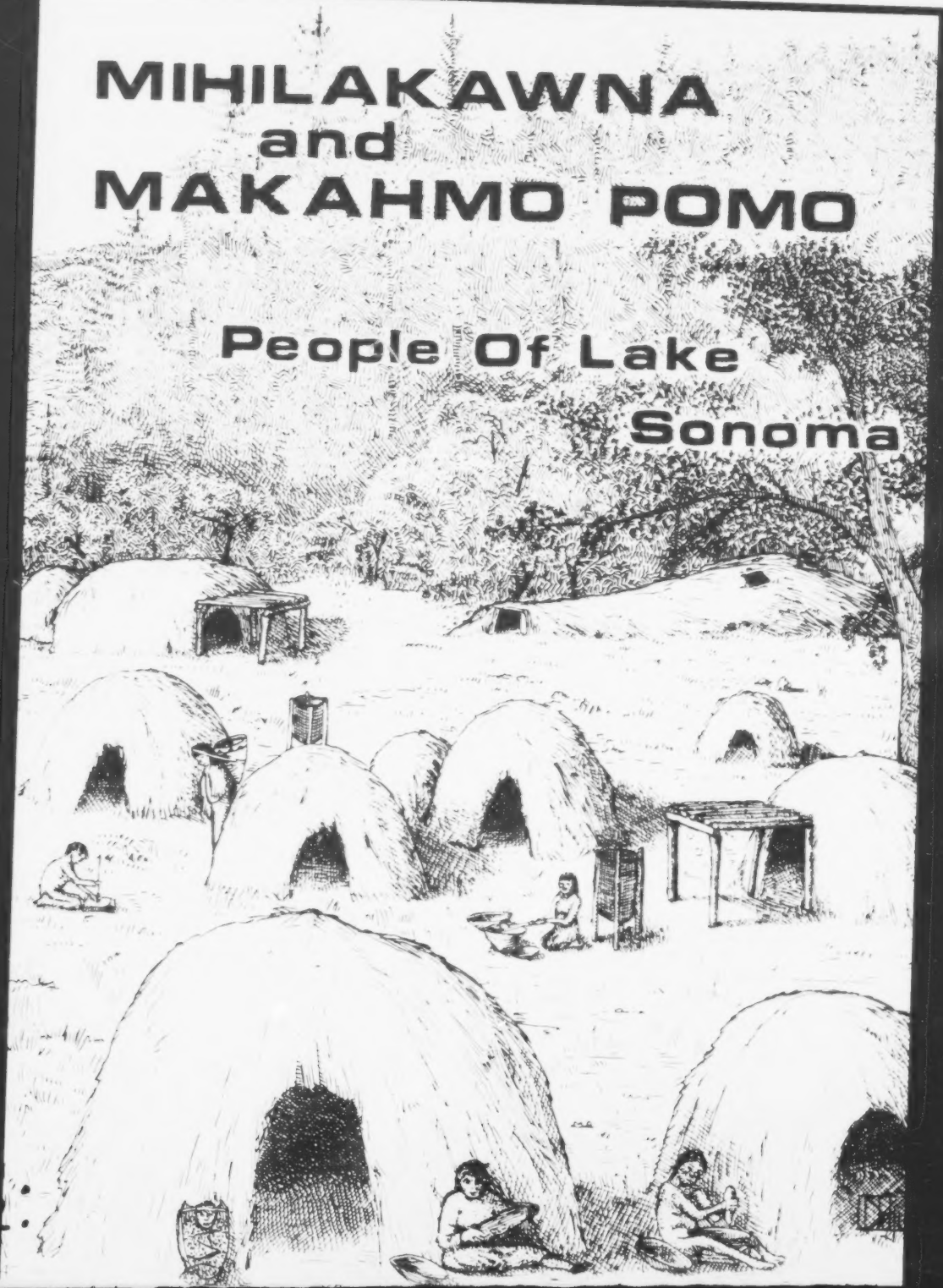
MIHILAKAWNA and MAKAHMO POMO

People Of Lake Sonoma



MIHILAKAWNA AND MAKAHMO POMO:

THE PEOPLE OF LAKE SONOMA

1984

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Vera-Mae Fredrickson
David W. Peri

Warm Springs Cultural Resources Study

INTRODUCTION

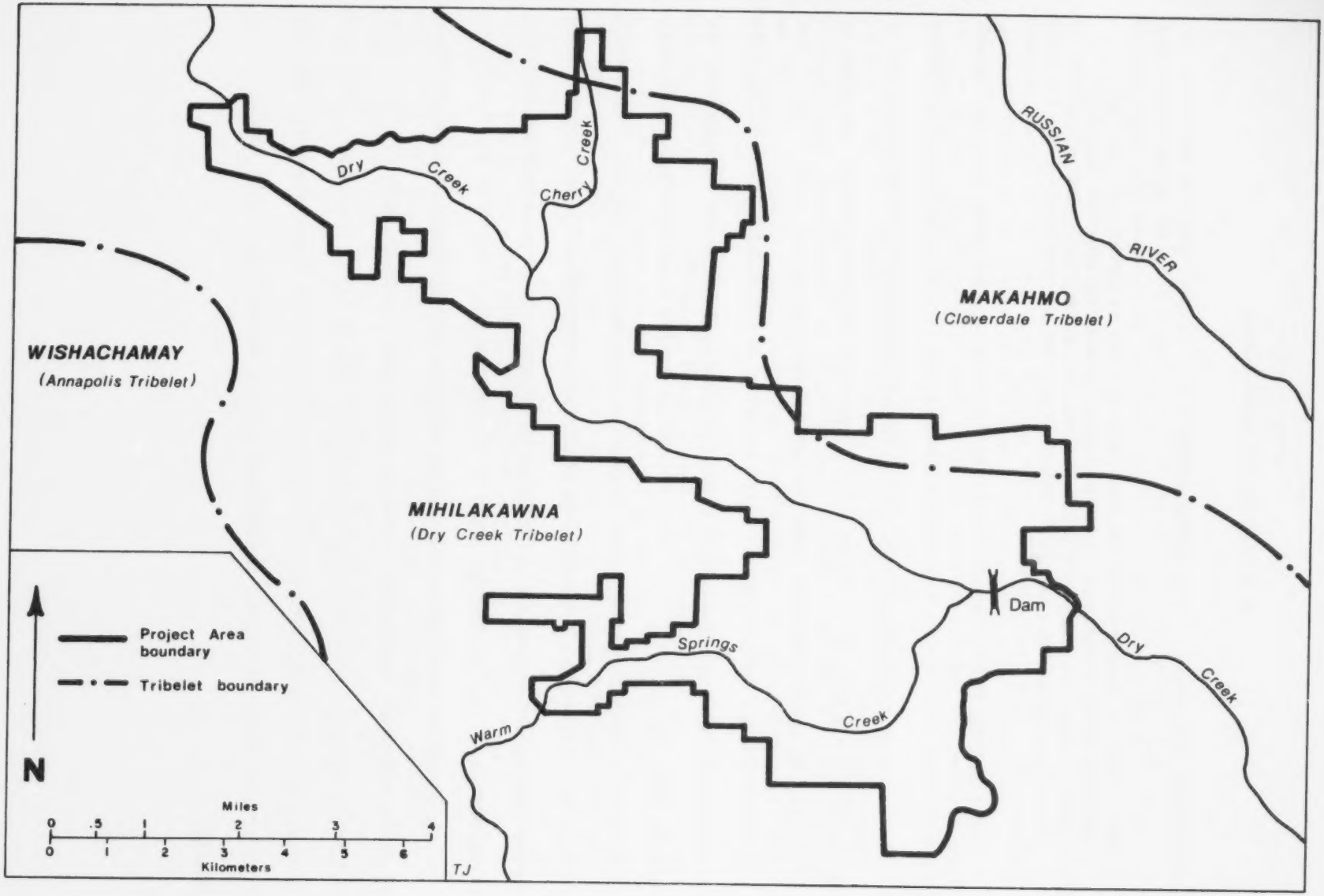
> The Indian's preservation of the land and its products for the ten thousand or more years of their undisputed occupancy was such that the white invaders wrested from them a garden, not the wilderness it salved their conscience to call it. (Kroeber and Heizer 1968:24).

Warm Springs Dam is built where Warm Springs Creek flows into Dry Creek. Behind the dam, water backs up as much as seven miles into Warm Springs Creek Valley and twelve miles into Dry Creek Valley. This is Lake Sonoma, about 90 miles north of San Francisco, California. These two valleys, now covered by water, were for at least five thousand years the home of California Indians.

In the 1820s, when Europeans first appeared in the Russian River Valley, the land where the dam and the lake are now was the homeland of the Mihilakawna and Makahmo Pomo. These two groups, today known as the Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo, each spoke a dialect of the same language, Southern Pomo (Map 1). They were independent "tribelets," each with their own territory and political system. They shared some of the resources of the Warm Springs-Dry Creek area with neighboring tribelets, such as the Kashaya Pomo to the southwest.

By the 1850s, the Mihilakawna and the Makahmo had been driven from their homes by white settlers. Descendants of these people have, however, continued to live in the local area and have kept strong personal ties to their homeland. They also continue to collect native plants from the Dry Creek area. These plants are used for traditional food, medicine, ceremonies and for making the world famous Pomoan baskets.

MAP 1 NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE LAKE SONOMA PROJECT AREA



> The historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development. (United States, The National Historic Preservation Act, 1966).

The planned construction of Warm Springs Dam and Lake Sonoma required the disturbance or destruction of one hundred and twenty-two areas associated with the history of human use of the project area. There were sixty-one prehistoric (before 1850) Indian use areas, including ten with house pits, five hunting blinds, two chert quarries, and eleven locations with petroglyphs (designs cut into rocks), as well as two prehistoric trails. The fifty-one historic (after 1850) locations included a one-room school, three bridges, a small dam, two mines, six orchards, farmsteads, sheepshearing stations and a hot springs resort (Skaggs Springs) which operated from the late 1850s until 1942. In addition, there were eight known places where, for more than a hundred years, special plants were regularly collected by Indians for traditional uses.

To save the historically important information represented by these areas, a cultural resource mitigation and management plan was prepared by the San Francisco District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The plan was approved by the California State Historic Preservation Officer, the Department of the Interior, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Vital to the plan was a research program, and a contract to carry out this research was issued in 1978 to Sonoma State University Academic Foundation, Inc. (Rohnert Park, Ca.). The work was done by anthropologists and other specialists from four California universities and several private firms, with the advice of the Warm Springs Native American Advisory Council, organized for this project.

The research program included prehistoric and historic archaeology (the investigation of cultural remains left in and on the ground), history, ethnography

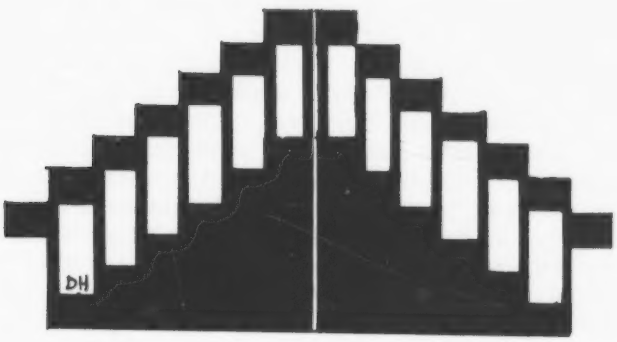
(the description of how people live), and ethnobotany (the study of a people's use of plants). The cultural resource plan required not only extensive collection of information, but also the preparation of detailed plans for relocating natural resources still used by Native Americans and significant to their way of life. In addition, it was important to plan for the preservation and interpretation of the project area's cultural resources for the benefit of the public visiting the Warm Springs Dam-Lake Sonoma Project.

This pamphlet is a brief summary of only one aspect of this large research project: the Mihilakawna and Makahmo Pomo Indians' ways of life. Such a study requires good sources of information. This includes all published and unpublished writings as well as information provided by knowledgeable people, particularly those who have made it their business to find out about or who remember their past. One of the most valuable sources of information about particular Native Californian groups are those individuals who are directly descended from the group being studied, and who are recognized by their own Native American community as scholars of their own cultural traditions and histories.

The kind of written material that is available on California Indian life has some limitations. Each work tends to stress that aspect of Indian life in which the writer was most interested and to somewhat ignore other parts of life. Some writing reflects 19th century biases in the treatment of the roles of men and women and other aspects of Indian culture. The earlier studies on the Pomoan groups tend to generalize about all Pomo, blurring the unique life styles of each tribelet. A final problem is that by the time there was scholarly interest in the Mihilakawna and Makahmo (1900 to 1930s), there had already been at least 50 years during which the members of these groups had been forced economically and culturally to exchange their successful way of life for that brought by the settlers. The result of this

exchange was not only our loss of knowledge about these groups, but the people's loss of knowledge about themselves.

The limitations of the available information means that there is an organized but incomplete survey and description of the traditional life of the Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo. Traditional is used here not to mean aboriginal or primitive, but to describe those activities which are customary or in the accepted manner. When you ask a group of people, "How do you usually do so and so?" and they reply, "Oh, we always do so and so this way;" that is traditional.



"Quail Tops"

Southern Pomo Basket Design

CHAPTER I. THE WAY IT WAS

> Were there ever a more truly Chosen People than these small tribelets of California? Each occupied a world specially created, with its own people, language, and Way, by benign Creator Gods and Heroes. All was accounted for, planned and made for them. All had existed before there were people, through the providence of a prehuman and superhuman race whose devotion was such that they gave up their world to its human inheritors (Kroeber and Heizer 1968:37-38).

Language and Prehistory

The Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo are speakers of Southern Pomo, one of seven distinct but linguistically related languages collectively known as the Pomoan family of languages. Each language received its name because of its geographic relation to the Russian River Valley: Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern, Southwestern, Southeastern, and Northeastern.

The term "Pomo" was applied by early scholars to all those groups in northern California who spoke these seven languages, even though there was no one political or cultural grouping known as "Pomo." This confusion over the relationship between these groups was compounded by the fact that those persons speaking the Pomoan languages also shared certain other general traditions common to the area.

The speakers of these seven Pomoan languages, for example, had a common tradition of basket-making techniques (but with distinct tribelet variations), shared a broadly based belief and ceremonial system, and participated in similar food resources and food processes (but with unique adaptations to their specific environments). Each of the tribelets, however, was distinctly influenced by non-Pomoan neighbors, many of whom had very different traditions.

The speakers of Pomoan languages were organized into independent and culturally unique communities or tribelets, each speaking one of seven languages or

a dialect of one of them. There was thus a series of highly similar but never identical Pomoan cultures.

The only two dialects of Southern Pomo that survived into the 1980s are those of the Mihilakawna and Makahmo, known locally by Indians as the Dry Creek language and Cloverdale language. The noticeable differences between these two dialects are like those between general American English and standard British English.

The ancestral Pomoans may have been part of the movement of peoples from southern California northward about 5000 B.C. After settling in about 3000 B.C. in the vicinity of Clear Lake, northeast of Lake Sonoma, they began to migrate across the mountain range into the Russian River Valley where they spread north and south through the string of valleys along the course of the river (see p. 51, Map 3).

It is unclear from the archaeological record whether the first peoples who lived in the Dry Creek area were the ancient ancestors of the people known today as the Mihilakawna and the Makahmo. They may well have been other peoples, who were later replaced by Pomoans moving in from the Clear Lake area. About 500 B.C, there were some noticeable changes in the technology and thus in life style. There was an increase in population which may relate to the fact that there had been a change from seed grinding to acorn processing. Acorns were often abundant enough to be stored, making life more predictable and secure. About 500 A.D., there was another increase in population. The bow and arrow had come into use and basketry was highly developed. By this time, the peoples living in the Dry Creek area were Southern Pomo speakers and definitely the ancestors of today's Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo.

The Land

The basis of northern California society was the tribelet, an independent, self-governing group of people who shared a common language, territory, and

culture. Each tribelet had a permanent, central town, which was its political, economic and religious center. Here council meetings were held, food, goods, and treasures were stored, and major ceremonies took place. Connected to these "capitals" were usually several smaller outlying towns, also lived in year round, each with its own headman, who was secondary to the headman in tribelet affairs.

To the tribelet belonged the land which the members traveled over, lived on, collected food from, and were buried in. Tribelet territories were usually within a stream drainage (the area of land from which the water drains into a particular stream) or within a section of river valley, including both sides of the river. Rivers did not serve as tribelet boundaries; the tribelet that had settlements on one side of a river almost always had settlements on the opposite bank, as well as hunting and collecting rights on both sides.

The entire territory owned by a tribelet was used; some parts intensively, others seasonally or occasionally. The whole territory formed a unit, some part of which was used in one way or another during the year. Many tribelets followed a regular routine of living by a river or creek, above flood level in winter; then, as spring came, they moved from the central towns to temporarily occupied summer settlements to collect greens and seeds, bulbs, and, as the year wore on, fruits, berries, and finally nuts and acorns. Fishing was usually best in the winter and spring; hunting was more productive in the summer and fall. In this fashion, many groups followed a regular swing over their territory, away from the major towns, out into the valleys or up into the foothills, into the higher ranges and back into the valley to finish the year by a renewed residence at the principal towns.

It should be kept in mind that the Indians in this area did not plant crops, with the exception of tobacco, nor did they raise animals with the exception of the dog in a few groups. They did use, however, good environmental management techniques such

restrictions on hunting and fishing to insure future supplies. These are sophisticated management procedures. The people were not growers of food but rather complex collectors and hunters.

Most materials used for clothing, houses, tools, and other articles of daily use were made of local materials found within the tribelet's territory. Rare, unusual or locally unavailable materials were traded for with other groups. An elaborate exchange system along established trade routes extended throughout the region; most of the major roads today follow these same routes. Along these trails passed the products from the coast, Clear Lake, the Russian River Valley and the Sacramento Valley (see Map 3).

From the coast came a variety of seafoods, salt and abalone and clam shells, the latter used to make the local currency. The Clear Lake region supplied its local resources of fish, bulrush roots and redbud bark for basketry, obsidian for tools, magnesite for ornaments and much more. The Mihilakawna and the Makahmo and other Pomoan tribelets had valuable goods to offer in trade, in addition to their usually abundant local foods. They were the manufacturers and suppliers of small disc shell beads for all the north-central California tribelets and were also well known for their excellent drills.

When the Mihilakawna and the Makahmo traveled to the coast or Clear Lake, they were allowed to collect the raw unworked materials without charge. If, however, they wanted manufactured goods or items that had already been collected, they had to pay with either clamshell beads or other goods.

While the demand for some trade items was predictable from year to year, the size of certain food harvests such as acorns and salmon often varied. To offset local shortages, all tribelets participated from time to time in the exchange or purchase of basic foods usually available in their own territory. When a

superabundance of a particular food occurred, the well-endowed group would host a "trade feast" and invite other groups to enjoy the plentiful harvest.

There were considerations other than material resources that affected the Indian use of the land. Each tribelet's territory contained many places which had sacred or historical associations to its inhabitants. Some landmarks were dangerous; some were associated with good luck; some were sacred; but all of them were named and respected and were an important part of life. Connection with the past and the ability to deal with the future were associated with one's home base. Anything very far beyond was associated with danger. Allied to these facts was the tremendously strong attachment that California Indians had for the place where they were born, raised, and lived out their lives.

Mihilakawna and Makahmo Territory

The Russian River is the major river within the Coast Ranges of northwestern California, flowing generally from north of Ukiah, southward through mountain passes and fertile floodplains that broaden into the Hopland, Alexander and Santa Rosa valleys. The river then continues westward through the mountains to reach the sea at Jenner (see Map 3). The terrain surrounding the Russian River basin varies from gently rolling hills to somewhat rugged mountains. The river is fed by numerous streams; one of the largest is Dry Creek, which flows about forty miles through the mountains northeast of Healdsburg.

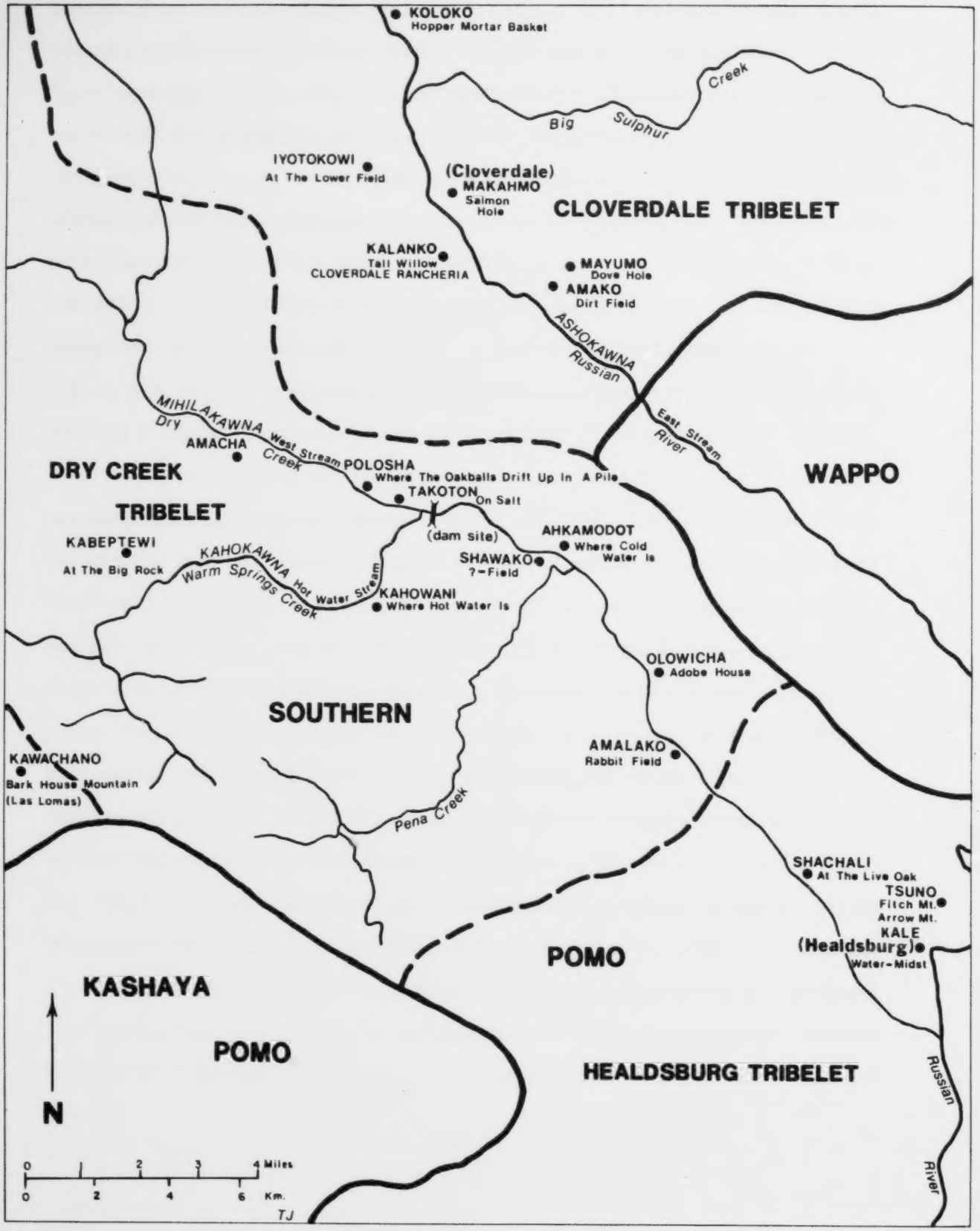
Despite its name, Dry Creek contains some running water most of the year and dried, prior to Warm Springs Dam, into pools near the end of the long hot summer. During the winter and spring, its waterways were filled with salmon and steelhead

making their way upstream to spawn. The Dry Creek watershed, which was the heartland of the Mihilakawna (Dry Creek) Pomo's 135 square mile territory, empties into the Russian River near the northern end of the Santa Rosa plain. The Dry Creek Pomo had as their neighbors to the northwest and northeast the Annapolis and Cloverdale tribelets, other Southern Pomo speakers. To the north were Central Pomo speakers. Southwest were the Southwestern Pomo-speaking Kashaya, and southeast were another Southern Pomo-speaking group, the Healdsburg tribelet. The Mihilakawna shared a short boundary on the east with the Wappo Indians of Alexander Valley (Map 2).

When the Europeans came into the area there were about 500 Dry Creek Pomo living in two communities who were socially and politically linked to each other. The principal town was Amalako ("rabbit field"), the social, political and ceremonial center for the entire tribelet. Allied to Amalako was the smaller town of Ahkamodot ("where cold water is"). The center of the community life for Upper Dry Creek was Takoton ("on salt") (Map 2). Amalako in addition to being the seat of tribelet government was also the primary residence of the headman. Other important civil and religious leaders also lived there. Each town, large or small, was made up of groups whose members were related to each other, and whose leaders advised the tribelet headman.

The 150 square miles of Makahmo (Cloverdale Pomo) territory was at the northern end of the Alexander Valley. The area was roughly rectangular, about nine miles from north to south and seventeen miles from east to west. The terrain varied from the gently sloping valley of the Russian River to the rugged Mayacamas Mountains in the region of the Geysers. The Russian River flows through these lands and is joined by numerous tributaries which drain Makahmo and Mihilakawna territory. The Makahmo's northern boundary was also the northern boundary of Southern Pomo speaking peoples. The Cloverdale Pomo's northern neighbors were the Central Pomo-speaking tribelet

MAP 2 NATIVE PEOPLES AND PLACE NAMES



Yobakeya Pomo. The Makahmo's neighbors to the east were the Habenapo, an Eastern Pomo-speaking group; to the south lived the Wappo. The western boundary of the tribelet was formed by the divide separating Dry Creek from the Russian River and also included the headwaters of Cherry Creek. Their neighbors here were the Mihilakawna (Dry Creek) Pomo.

The Cloverdale Pomo at the time of European contact numbered somewhere between 600 and 960 persons. Principal towns were Makahmo ("salmon hole"), with a population of 300 to 480, and Amakho ("dirt field") which had a headman of equal rank, and was politically independent of Makahmo. In the 1830s, probably as a result of pressures from Spanish encroachment further south, the two towns joined together under the leadership of the Makahmo headman, Musalakan. There were also several smaller towns, Mayumo ("dove hole") and possibly Koloko ("hopper mortar basket field"), each with one or more kin groups living in them (Map 2), that also came under the leadership of the Makahmo headman.

Headmen met together to make trade arrangements, to consider and decide upon inter-tribelet problems, and to discuss other matters affecting everyone. People from the various towns also came together for gambling, visiting, and ceremonial, and other special events. When outsiders were invited for social events by one of the towns, all the other communities helped feed and entertain them. Each of the two major towns had its own assembly house, but celebrated some ceremonies together. The whole tribelet seems to have held hunting grounds, berry patches and other resource areas in common.

Cycle of Life

In the Mihilakawna and Makahmo cycle of life, each person moved through a series of well-defined stages as they grew from childhood to old age, entering the

transitions with the knowledge that they had not only the social, but also the emotional support of their families, friends, and communities.

Birth: "Coming Into The World"

The birth of a child was an especially important occasion. Although marriage united a couple and their respective families socially, it was only through the birth of a child that the two families were brought together, relating to each other as if they were blood kin and uniting them politically and economically as well.

Child rearing was the primary responsibility of the mother assisted by her mother and mother-in-law and their closest relatives, including older men. A month or more after birth, the child received its name in a special ceremony, and was placed in the traditional baby carrying basket. Made by men, the basket was usually crafted by a close relative of the father. The infant was wrapped in a fur blanket and made secure in the basket (Plate 1).

Childhood: "Learning To Know Themselves"

Children spent much of their time listening to "coyote stores;" stories of when the "animal people" and supernaturals were the only occupants of the world. They also played a variety of games. These were more than simply entertaining and recreational activities; they were experiences by which a variety of life skills were taught. As one elderly Mihilakawna noted:

> The stories taught us how to sit still and listen, how to listen to our elders, and how to behave towards them. We learned our language that way too, by listening to these stories. The stories also taught about different things in the world: how things were made, what was good and bad, the way people should act towards one another, and more. The games they played in early days taught us things too. They taught us about rules, how to play, how to have fun, be a good winner, and how to be a good

PLATE 1 SOUTHERN POMO BABY BASKET

> loser. The games, running, swimming, jumping, throwing, those things made the children's bodies strong too (Peri and Patterson 1984:45).

The following coyote story illustrates one of the social values taught to children:

> Two brothers, who were small birds with black crests, were orphans. They were raised by a very old lady, who they called grandmother. This was before people.... Coyote also lived then, and there were lots of other birds. It was a time of starvation.
>
> One day Coyote was laying on his back singing at the moon. He was so proud of himself and his song. And slowly all kinds of bread came from the heavens in a disc. All kinds of Indian bread were in it. Coyote was proud instead of humble. He had sung about his hunger in a proud way. When something is asked for, one should be humble. When it is received, a thanks should be said. Instead, Coyote was just proud, laid there on his back next to the bread, put in his hand, took some bread, put it in his mouth and said 'umm.' And then he sang some more. He did this four times. Each time, the disc of bread moved a little farther from Coyote. On the fourth move, it rolled away with all the bread. He called for help to the people. Everyone was running, trying to catch the bread.
>
> Then those two little birds said to their grandmother, 'we're going to catch it.' Everyone else set nets in the best places. These poor birds then set theirs in the only place left. They rigged their poor net, which was torn and sad, over a hole in the brush. The bread rolled into the net. Both of them ran up and stuck their heads into the bread and got their bellies full. Then they grabbed some bread for their grandmother and went home. The people all got the rest. Coyote, who had been too proud, got none (Peri, Patterson, McMurray 1984:155).

As they grew, children took on the responsibilities of collecting and carrying wood, assisting in food collection, and supervising young children. It was the responsibility of the oldest child to help the younger ones. Boys were instructed in hunting, trapping, and fishing, and in the ways of men by their father and his older male relatives. Girls were trained in the domestic arts of basketry, food collection, cooking, and in the ways of women by their mother and her older female relatives. The more accomplished they became in their skills, the more they were allowed to participate in the world of adults.

Older children usually learned the art of basketry from their mothers and her female relatives. Learning began at an early age; as one Dry Creek woman remarked, "we began life in a basket. Baskets were everywhere and we used them all the time." Children were able to observe their mothers at their own basketry work, and often attempted to imitate them. They were encouraged in these efforts, while also corrected. One Dry Creek weaver stated it this way:

> When we were little and made a mistake, nobody scolded or got after us--even when we were older. Sometimes the mothers would laugh at their daughter's work because it looked funny to them, but they didn't embarrass us or make us ashamed of our work. We would laugh at it too (Peri and Patterson 1984:46).

Young boys also learned to weave from their senior female and male relatives. However, only women wove the finer and more complex baskets; boys learned the simpler techniques. Young girls and boys were often given simple twined-weave basketry starters to "play with," that is, practice with. The materials were large and flexible for easy manipulation; "the basketmakers didn't want to make it hard for the children to learn."

At about nine years of age, while boys continued to learn, perfect, and apply their skills to the making of wood-carrying baskets, bird and fish traps, etc., girls went on to learn the other more complex techniques. By the time a girl reached womanhood, she was competent, but not skilled, in basketmaking.

Puberty, or the passage from childhood into the first stages of adulthood, was an important event celebrated by special ceremonies and the observances of certain restrictions. Puberty conferred new rights and responsibilities on those coming of age, while ending and enlarging those they followed as children. Although there were special ceremonies that marked the passage into the world of adults for both

sexes, the events surrounding the entrance to womanhood appear more complex and dramatic than those accompanying the passage from boyhood to manhood.

Approaching puberty, a girl was introduced to the world and ways of women by her mother and other significant women; a boy was inaugurated into manhood by his father and other important men. The girl remained at home, while the boy began to take up residence in the men's sweat house, returning home periodically with his father for meals and other occasions.

At puberty, a young girl had her ears pierced using a bone needle. Stems of maidenhair fern kept the hole open, and also served as earrings. A girl was formally recognized as a woman with the onset of her first menses, acknowledged by special ceremonies and rules. She was taught that during this and other times, she was not to engage in any of her routine tasks, but to rest and remain quiet, and to stay away from certain foods, especially salt, meat, and "fatty foods," since they were understood to negatively affect her health. These and other obligations continued to be observed until she reached menopause.

For a young boy, there appears to have been no single event that marked his entry into manhood. Rather, a number of events, taken together, celebrated his coming of age. First was his taking up a secondary residence in the men's sweat house with others of a similar age, including adult men. Next, he was presented with his first bow and quiver of arrows by his uncle, and his first deer kill was marked with a special ceremony and the sharing of the meat with his family and close relatives. Other events appear to have centered on his acceptance into adult groups of men, especially ceremonial societies, and groups of men and women who participated in communal or special group events such as fishing, hunting, gambling, trading, and other activities.

Adult Life: "They Were Men And Women"

Although there was no single event which marked a person's passage into full adulthood, it was usually associated with marriage. However, there was no criticism of those who remained single. An additional stage of adulthood was marked by the birth of children, when husband and wife also became father and mother. Not only was the couple given a new role and position, but also their parents who became grandparents, and the couples' brothers and sisters who became uncles and aunts. In fact, the birth of even one child brought new roles and statuses with new privileges and responsibilities on all those related by blood and by marriage to the child.

Adult life for a man consisted of a number of activities, varying according to his age and status. In addition to family life and participation in the politics of his town and tribelet, the vast majority of men engaged in hunting, fishing, collecting, tool-making and maintenance, building, and ceremonial activities. For some men, there were opportunities for specialization. These included making beads, bows, and stone tools for those less skilled. In addition to becoming craftsmen, other specialist opportunities included sportsmen and athletes, storytellers and professional gamblers. Further opportunities were also available to those who became expert in various activities: the hunting of certain animals, use of special fishing techniques, trap and snare and net making, singers, dancers and such leadership roles as the trading captain (in charge of intertribelet exchanges), and the leaders of such communal activities as fishing and hunting. There were also opportunities to specialize in the curing arts, becoming herbal doctors, and singing, and "outfit" doctors. Although such positions were available, they tended, for the most part, to be filled by men whose fathers or uncles, or other close relatives were holding or had held these same positions. If

there were, however, no eligible "trainees" in the families of such specialists, other men would pay for the necessary education and training so as to qualify them for the position. Payment might consist of clam shell beads, in addition to the trainee sharing his food with his "teacher," collecting his firewood, and assisting him in other routine activities. Non-specialist parents often apprenticed their older children, both male and female, to specialists in order to acquire the necessary knowledge and experience. The "tuition" was paid in clam shell beads, and by the parents contributing goods and services to the specialist-teacher.

For women, in addition to domestic activities, there were also opportunities to specialize. The tribelet headman's wife generally presided over the affairs of women. Some women specialized in the making of certain baskets, midwifery, herbalism, singing, and attending to menstruating women.

Shortly after their recognition as adults, men and women became eligible for marriage. Marriage not only joined a couple in a special relationship, it also joined families, towns, and tribelets, who then ideally related to each other in a cooperative and mutually supportive manner. Marriage, therefore, was not only a social arrangement, but a political one as well. Marriage was not allowed between close relatives.

Ideally, a husband came from a good family, was a good provider, known to be generous with food, and helpful to relatives and elders. He was not quarrelsome and respected those in charge. Ideally, a wife was expected to be virtuous, get along with her husband's family and relatives, be industrious and not wasteful, be well versed in the domestic arts, not gossip, and cooperate with other women.

There were a number of socially approved occasions for unmarried men and women to meet. These included inter-town and inter-tribelet events such as communal summer fishing activities, and recreational, trading, and ceremonial events. If a

man liked a particular woman, he would inform his parents and they would try to arrange for the couple to formally get together by giving gifts to the woman's parents. If her parents accepted the gifts, it meant they accepted the suitor, his family and their relatives. If they refused the gifts outright, the suitor and his parents would "get upset," often causing "bad feelings" between the two families. Such relationships had the chance for getting out of hand, with one or both families resorting to supernatural means and/or poison to bring about sickness, misfortune, or possibly death.

Courtship was therefore not taken lightly; it was a serious affair. The giving and accepting of gifts was a serious and formal occasion. If these "getting acquainted" occasions were not mutually acceptable, then the courtship would be tactfully discouraged in order that "bad feelings" didn't result between the families. Also, since these same families might find themselves involved in other courtships, they needed to protect their rights to enter into future relationships. It was during courtship that both parties attempted to provide each other with examples of the quality of their upbringing and reveal themselves as the individuals they were. Courtship was often short, with the man about 16 to 17 years old and the woman 14 to 16 years old when they married.

Marriage partners were always selected from outside the group that one called their relatives, and were often chosen from another community or, in some cases, from another tribelet. However, for the vast majority of marriages, couples were able to speak each other's language. Exceptions were the sons and daughters of socially and politically important families (e.g., the headman or trading captain's family). These exceptions created or strengthened strategic social and political ties between communities and tribelets, enlarging and enhancing the opportunities of each.

Gift giving also took place at marriage. The groom's mother gave the bride two bracelets, one for each wrist, made of clam shell beads and abalone shell pendants. The bride's mother gave the groom's mother and her close female relatives baskets of everyday use: cooking, collecting, and processing baskets. The groom's father provided the meat or fish for the wedding feast which was held in the home of the bride. The groom's father's friends provided firewood for the gathering. The bride's mother provided pinole (ground seeds), acorn bread and acorn mush, while her father and his close male relatives gave gifts to the groom's father and his close male relatives. In each case, the giving of gifts and providing of the necessities for the marriage feast symbolized that both the bride and groom were "brought up to do the right things," and that they were part of families "that knew how to act around people not their relatives."

After marriage, the groom was obliged to help his in-laws by collecting firewood, and sharing the results of his hunting and fishing activities. Likewise, the bride was obliged to assist the groom's mother in her work.

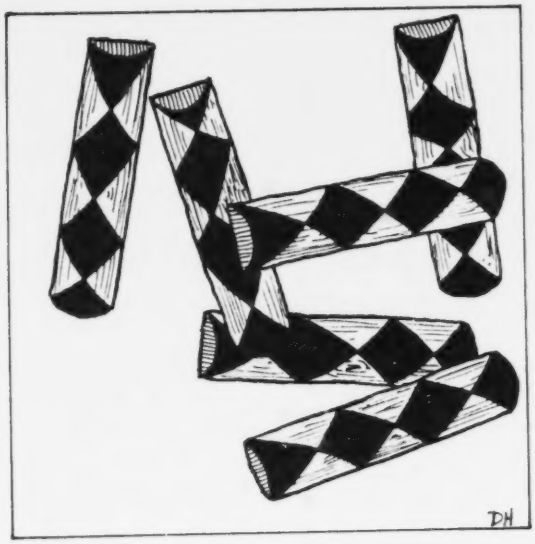
Most generally, a newly-married couple lived near the home of the groom, although they often went to the bride's home to live for short periods. Married men lived, for the most part, in the sweat house with other married and single adult and young men. They returned to their homes for meals, but often slept in the sweat house, a kind of men's club. Here they developed comradeship, exchanged information, learned from the more experienced, planned male centered events such as hunting and fishing, dealt with internal and external politics, and participated in gambling games and games of endurance. For example, two groups of men would challenge each other to a sort of duel. Each group had a large fan, a deer hide attached to a pole. Taking turns, each side would fan the heat towards the other side, while singing special songs. The side that drove the other out of the sweat

house first was declared the winner. Such activities often included betting between the opposing sides and onlookers.

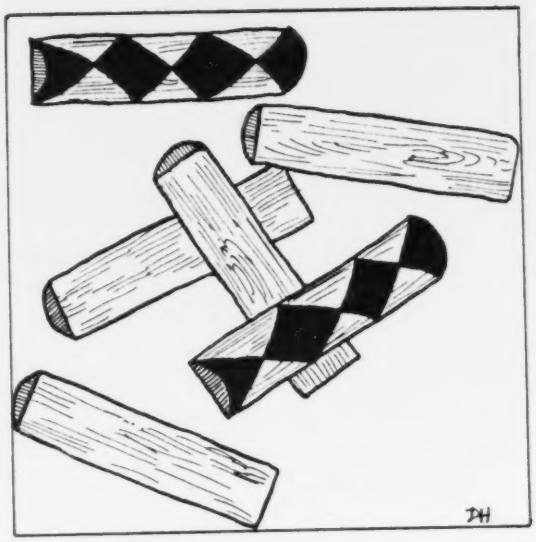
A similar "club" existed for women. Living houses often became centers where women would gather. Here they also developed comradeship, learned from each other, dealt with the affairs of women, and planned female centered activities. In addition to dealing with the affairs of women, they participated in less serious activities such as gambling, especially the "stick game." Six wooden staves, each with one side decorated and the other blank ("the black side and the white side"), were tossed, and depending on how they "came up," a person or side scored one or two points, or no points (Plate 2). The menstrual "house" was also an exclusive women's residence. Here menstruating women were attended to by senior women who provided advice and counsel about a variety of topics to younger women.

Divorce was practiced. If a man and a woman decided that they couldn't live together, they would separate without any negative implications for either one. If a child was involved, and the woman left, the husband would ask his wife to come back. If she refused, he could take the child. If the man left, the child remained with the wife who moved back with her parents. Marriage partners were expected to remain faithful to each other; otherwise it was cause for divorce. Where children were involved, they would live with the parent found free of blame. However, since children were considered to be of both families, they often stayed with grandparents on both sides. Although the potential for "bad feelings" between the couple and their families existed, especially where one partner suffered as a result of the other's actions, grudges were never publicly exhibited, since such uncooperative behavior was disapproved.

Plate 2 Women's Stave Game

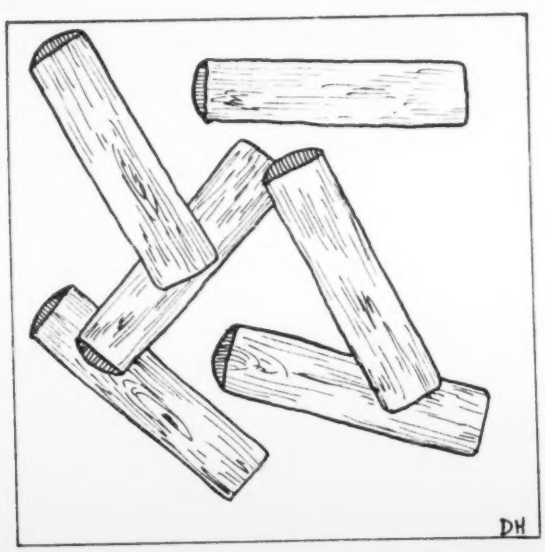


two points, continue playing until no score

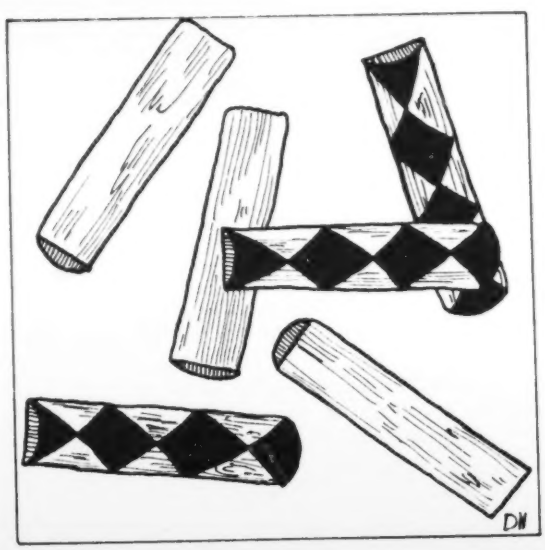


no score, pass staves to opposing player or side

two points, player continues to play until a no score, when staves passed to the opposing player or side



one point, continue playing until a no score



Old Age: "Our Elders"

People were considered old when they reached their 40s. Although they lacked the vigor and stamina of younger people, older persons, by virtue of their experience were skilled, and their abilities were put to good use. Senior men assisted in getting food, made and repaired nets and other items, dressed hides, fashioned ceremonial materials, and made clam shell beads. Senior women also assisted in food collecting and preparation, continued to make baskets, fashioned clothes, and made twine and rope.

Elders assisted their married and other children through times of emotional stress. They also cared for and educated their grandchildren, and as such insured the continuity of traditional ways and beliefs into the future.

Individually and collectively, elders were the repositories of their centuries-old history, and the scholars of their cultural traditions. It was they who provided a vision of stability in which the experiences of others (children, young adults and adults) could be appraised and learned from. As such, elders were able to contribute to a future in which change was not avoided, but rather seen as being part of nature and the order of their world.

Death: "Our Ancestors"

When someone died,

> all his belongings, all his property, was destroyed. The family burned his body and his things. Everything that's around the dead person was destroyed. Whatever they owned went with them, their baskets, their tools, and their dancing gear (Peri and Patterson 1984:57).

The name of the deceased was never mentioned, at least never as long as it was remembered. To remember the dead in such a way that would cause them to want to

remain among the living was unacceptable. The dead could only find their new lives by being freed from their earthly existence. Materials associated with the deceased were destroyed so the dead wouldn't long for them and return to seek them out.

Unless death was immediate and unexpected, healers, "doctors," were retained to treat the failing person. The attention and resources of the dying person's family were focused around the impending death. If the family had needs beyond its ability to meet, the community headman came to their aid. Upon death, families and relatives of the deceased came together to mourn. The cremation grounds were located well away from the towns and places where day to day activities took place. If a person died while at some distance from their home, they would be dealt with there and not returned to their own town.

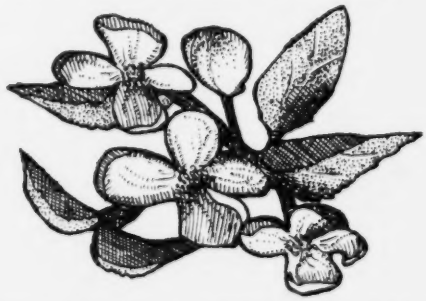
The Mihilakawna and Makahmo Pomo cremated their dead up until the early period of American settlement, when such practices were forceably discouraged. A grave was prepared and filled with wood. The corpse, carried on a litter, was placed atop the pyre, along with the person's most treasured possessions. As the fire was lit, people began to wail as they moved around the fire. When the fire had subsided and the coals were below the surface of the pit, it was covered over.

For Dry Creek and Cloverdale peoples, there was a life after death. However, the afterlife and the continuation of life for the living was only attainable through rituals performed by the living in behalf of the dead, and by mutually adopting a new set of social relationships, freeing the living and dead to pursue their separate existences.

Yearly Round

The world of the Mihilakawna and Makahmo was more than a collection of forces and objects; it was a world of dynamic and interrelated life forms. Their vision of life included humans, plants, animals, the natural environment, and forces of nature and the supernatural. Life through the constantly changing seasons was not static and routine. The signs of change were to be read in the behavior of animals, the growth of plants and the conditions of the weather. Plants, however, were the most important signs for seasonal changes. The yearly round began in the middle to late spring (March or April), "clover time," when the world became new again (Plate 3).

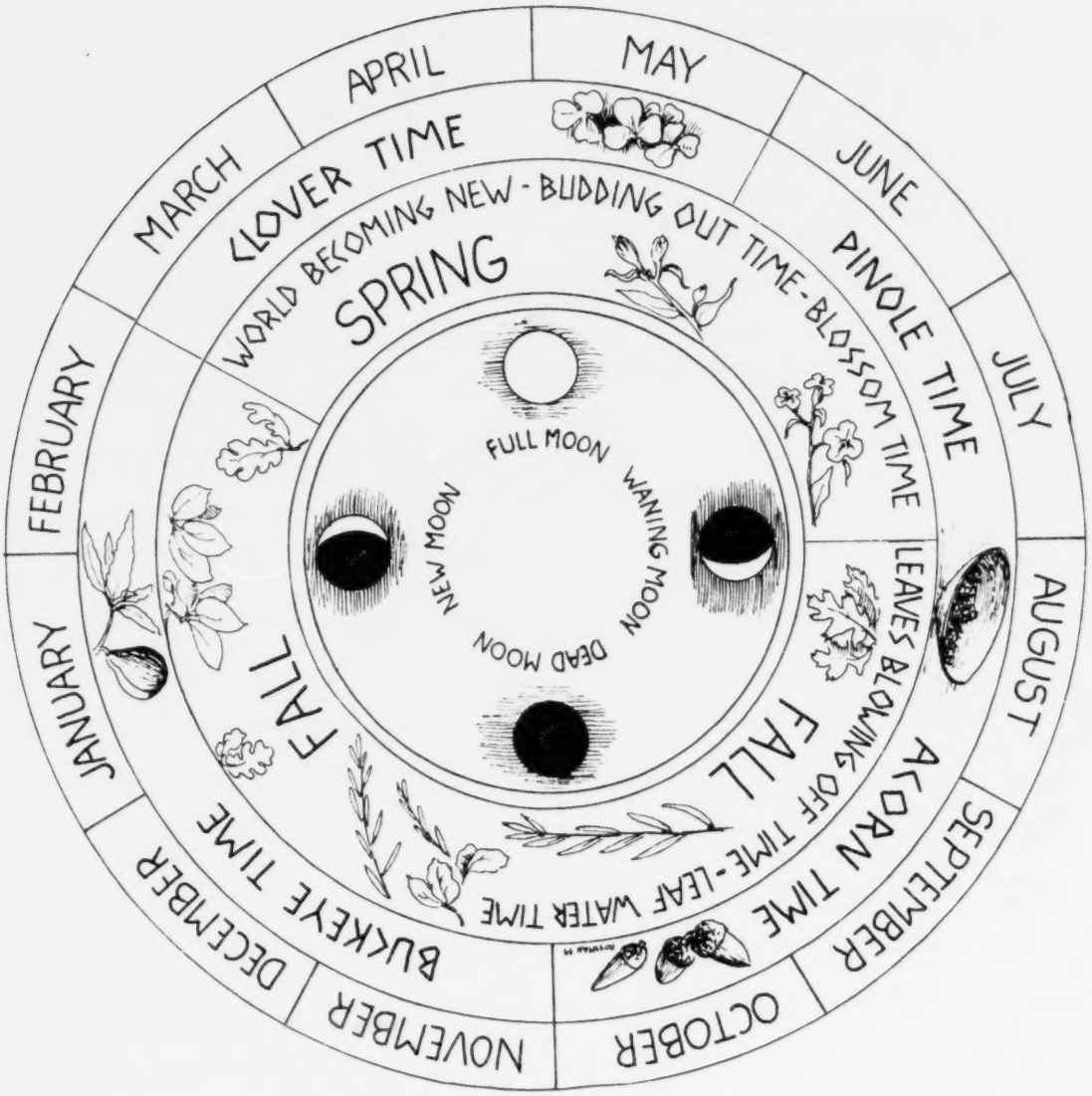
Spring: "World Becoming New - Budding Out Time"



Assembled in their winter permanent towns, the Mihilakawna and Makahmo awaited spring. With the advent of warm weather, the valleys, foothills, and mountain meadows were thickly carpeted with clovers, heralding the start of a new harvest season. Throughout the long wet winter, they looked forward to the fresh foods of spring, since their winter diet consisted mainly of stored and dried foods. Although they eagerly awaited the harvest of the new edible greens, they were prohibited from eating them until their flowering when a "first fruits" ceremony was held honoring the new foods of spring. The rite was a ceremonial blessing of the plants by a special leader, followed by dancing and feasting. At the conclusion of

PLATE 3

SOUTHERN POMO YEAR

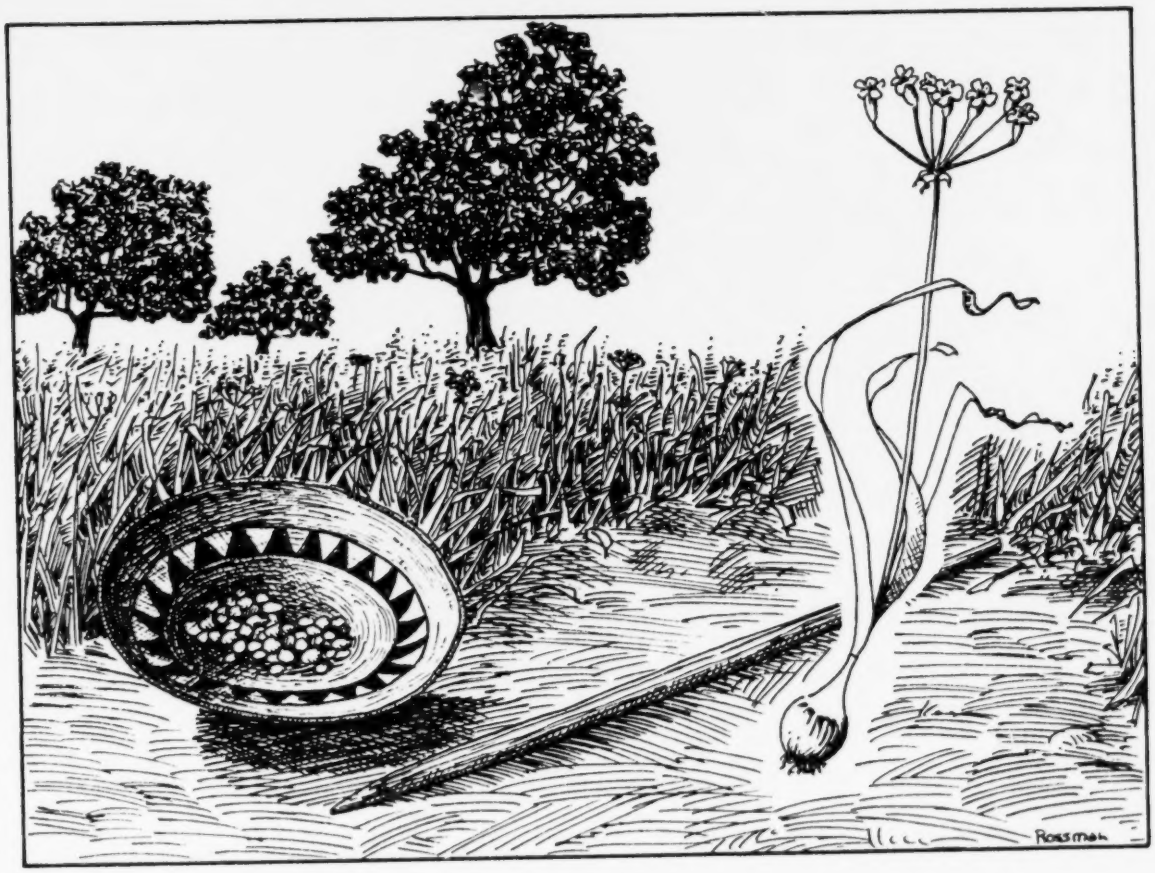


the celebration, the harvest began (Theodoratus et al. 1975:38-39). Such ritual regulation of the timing of the harvest was very important, as the nutritional value of such plants are highest just prior to and during their flowering.

After the clover harvest, "Indian potatoes", members of the lily family, became available. They yielded edible and highly relished corms, bulbs, and tubers. Indian potatoes grew in large patches in the valleys and foothills, making easy their collection in large quantities (Plate 4). At the height of the season, the hillsides were covered in blue with the flowers of certain potato plants. They were gathered while blooming, so that the underground bulbs could be easily located.

PLATE 4

HARVESTING "INDIAN POTATOES"
BRODIAEA LAXA



Numerous baskets of potatoes were dug by women and transported back to the main village, where they were stored and eaten as needed. Potatoes were eaten raw, parched, boiled, or baked in an underground earth oven.

Dry Creek and Cloverdale peoples recognized the importance of properly tending their "potato gardens." When digging for them, women would also weed out competing plants and remove sticks, rocks, and other debris. By eliminating unwanted plants, they insured the potatoes' continued presence by reducing competition for sun, nutrients, and water. Through harvesting the mature bulbs with digging sticks, the soil was aerated, and small bulblets were allowed to grow and mature, expanding the size of the original patches and insuring a good crop for the following year.

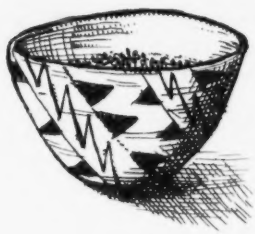
Late spring was the time for collecting gray willow for use in basket making. Their remarkably pliable shoots and branches provided a resource indispensable to daily life. The willow's flexible limbs served as the basic building material used in the construction of living, ceremonial, and food-storage structures, and were also fashioned into a diverse array of tools and household utensils. Of perhaps even greater importance were the long, slender, gray or white willow wands (or switches) and roots, used extensively in a wide variety of baskets. Willow roots were also harvested and used in basket making. They were split lengthwise and the outer covering of bark removed. These particularly strong materials were used in making baby baskets, work baskets, and basketry traps.

Because of their collecting techniques, basket makers prevented the willow from becoming tree-like and hence undesirable, as a low bushy form was easiest to collect from and yielded the best shoots. This was accomplished by extensive pruning of the upper branches, which encouraged expansion of the root system and growth of numerous young shoots, creating extensive bushy thickets. Tangled,

diseased, and dead wood was also removed by pruning, and overly thick or branched stems were cut out.

Although men hunted large and small game year-round, hunting, especially deer hunting, became increasingly routine from mid-to-late spring through late fall. As deer and elk sought out the nutritious and tender spring plants, men began to pursue them with greater frequency. Does were not hunted shortly after they gave birth. Otherwise, bucks and does were taken at random, including fawns especially prized by the elderly and young children because the meat was very tender. Since fresh deer or elk meat was desired by all, a kill was shared with not only a hunter's immediate family, but with his relatives as well. Spring was also the time of salmon runs.

Summer: "Seed Collecting Time"



With the advent of summer, people left their permanent homes and took up temporary residence in summer towns, located so as to afford easy access to food and material resources. Although there was more than one summer town, one of the towns was temporarily designated as the principal town where the tribelet's leaders lived, and was the center for the summer's ceremonial events. While younger and middle aged people occupied these towns, the elderly and young children remained in the permanent or winter towns, and were provided for by their relatives who made frequent visits bringing with them summer foods and other resources. Summer was also the time of religious renewal.

Using the summer towns as a base of operation, families went out and set up camping sites in the foothills or mountains to collect specific resources found only

in certain locations. Also, summer towns were often the staging sites from which groups set out for the coast and other areas to collect or trade for resources not found in their own territories. The summertime activities of the Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo figured prominently in insuring their well being in the months that followed.

As the cool nights of spring gave way to the warmer temperatures of summer, the seeds of many grasses neared maturity. These seed grains produced a bountiful harvest which was ground into a fine meal, which during the 19th century came to be called pinole. The small seeds of various tarweed plants were gathered from late summer to early fall. Seed plants were abundant in the fields and valleys of Dry Creek and the Russian River, maturing at different times, and affording an almost continual harvest into early fall. Large quantities were collected, winnowed, parched, and stored for use during the winter months. They were also roasted, ground, and sifted, yielding a nutritious meal.

The hot days of summer also ripened an array of wild fruits and berries. Women collected baskets full of wild grapes, blackberries, manzanita berries, elderberries, as well as many others. Most were eaten fresh; manzanita berries were dried, ground into meal, and eaten plain, or mixed with other seeds or nuts and made into small cakes. Manzanita meal and cakes were also part of the winter diet.

Beside food plants, several ceremonial plants were also collected. For example, towards the end of summer Indian tobacco reached maturity. Like the clovers, collection of tobacco was restricted, that is, no harvesting was allowed until after a special ceremony. Before the harvest, a ceremonial leader collected a small amount for use in the ceremony. It was taken while flowering, and after its curing everyone assembled for the ceremony. The tobacco was blessed, and passed in a pipe from person to person until all had smoked, followed by dancing and feasting.

After this, tobacco could be gathered at any time, although it was mainly collected by older men. Tobacco was smoked in long, straight wooden pipes, principally by men. It was used ceremonially, especially by doctors when curing, by non-specialists for "home remedies," especially nervous conditons, after sweating, and before any major event or undertaking.

Trips to the coast were also a spring time activity. Food collected on these trips enriched the spring and summer diets while foods were also collected for winter use. One of the most important of the coastal resources was the California mussel. Since they occurred in dense mats on coastal rocks, large amounts could be collected. Some were cooked on the beach and eaten then; however, large quantities were sun dried and brought home.

Many types of clams were also eaten. The most important was the Washington clam, also known as the "money clam." It provided not only food, but also the raw materials from which clam shell beads or "money" was made. Like mussels, clam meat was sun dried or roasted over coals and made into jerky.

Other sea foods included small mollusks and sea anemones. On the sandy beaches, surf fish were caught in large quantities with seine nets. The bulk of the catches were dried and taken home. Many varieties of coastal birds were also taken; mudhens or coots were among the favorites. Mallard ducks were also taken; the male prized for its beautiful green feathers used in making fine feather baskets.

Salt, an essential mineral in the diet, was obtained from several coastal sources. Another source of salt was roasted kelp, ground into meal and used as salt, or the pieces chewed and the salt sucked out.

The early summer months were also times for fishing in inland waters. From late spring to early summer, communal fish dams were built in Dry Creek and other streams, and in the Russian River. Such fishing was at its best when the water was

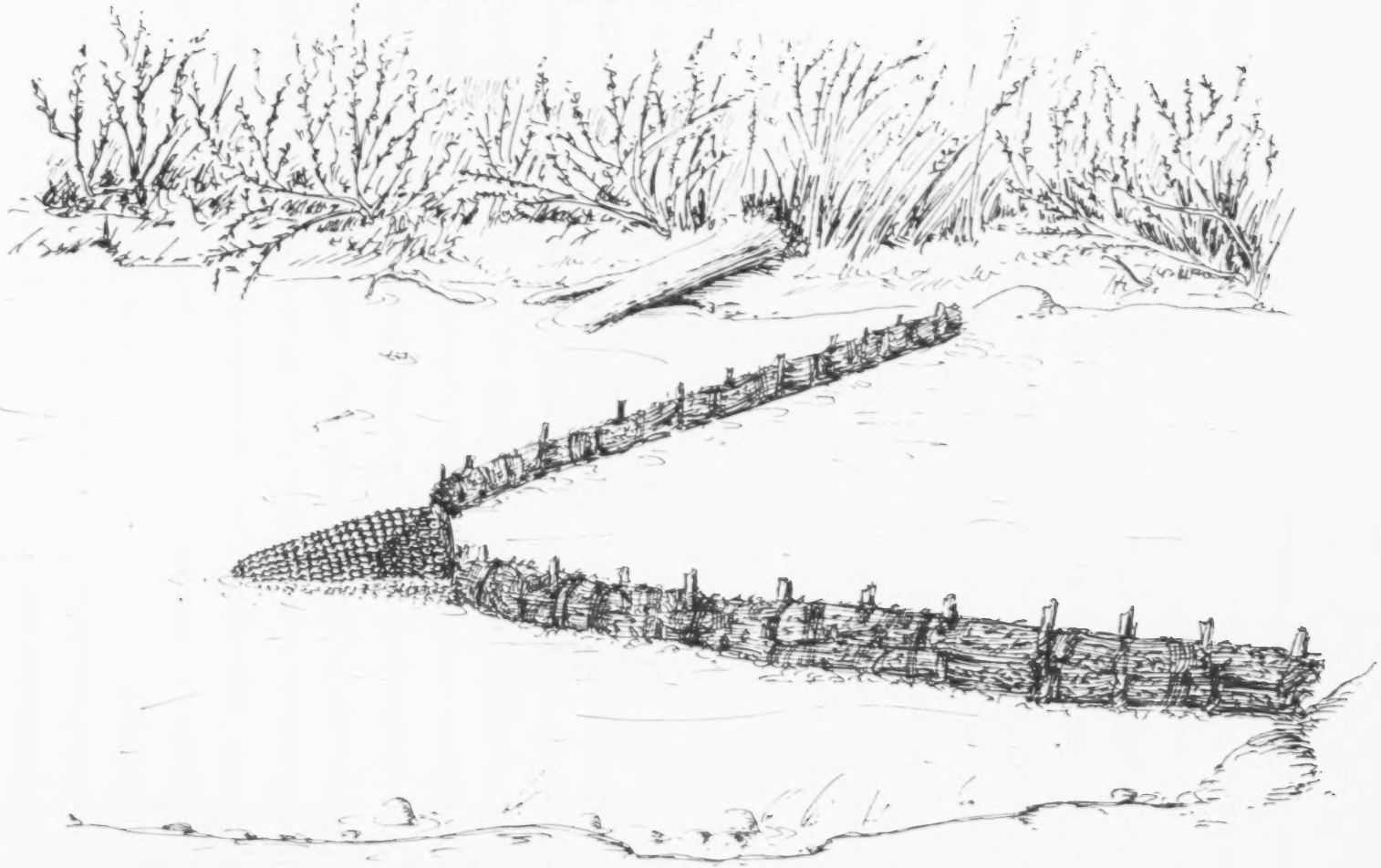
low, but still flowing enough to allow fish to move upstream. Communal fishing involved a number of families cooperating to obtain a large, easily caught supply of fish. For overseeing the activities, an individual was selected to be in charge and was known as the "fishing captain." He had the responsibility of deciding when and where the fish dam should be built, selection of the camp site, and had the overall responsibility of directing and supervising the activities. He was also charged with seeing that the ceremonial activities associated with the dam were properly carried out. The dam was constructed where the stream or river bed was relatively narrow and contained fine gravel, not rocks, and with a large pool just downstream of the dam.

Everyone, men, women and older children, participated. Men did the heavy work--building the dam, making the trap and drag—while women and children collected suitable construction materials. Dam construction took less than a day (Plate 5). Men first drove stakes into the stream bed to form a "V"-shaped arrangement that pointed upstream. Around these stakes, long willow branches were woven. The "V"-shape of the dam directed the movements of the fish into the trap. The trap itself consisted of an outside cone and shallower inner cone with an opening in the center; it was placed in the "V"-shaped opening of the dam.

In addition to the dam and trap, a willow drag was also made. On a nearby gravel bar, long, straight, white willow shoots with leaves were laid out to form a line, with one overlapping the other, forming a shingling effect. It's length depended on the width of the stream to be fished.

After the dam and trap were completed and in place, two men would position the drag downstream, standing on both sides of the stream. As the drag was slowly hauled upstream towards the dam, women wading behind the drag and carrying sticks, jabbed at the water in front of it, while children swam behind to scare the fish into

PLATE 5 - SUMMER FISH DAM



the trap. From the banks, older persons, using sticks, scared the fish from their hiding places.

At the end of the day, the fishing captain divided the catch among the participating families. Each family received a portion equal to its size and need.

As early summer fishing came to an end, the frequency of hunting both large and small game increased, especially deer hunting. Black-tailed deer were abundant and frequented a wide range of environmental zones depending on whether it was early, middle or late in the season, and even the time of day. Elk were also present, but their range was more restricted than that of deer.

Prior to all hunting, men sweated not only to remove "man scent," preventing the hunter from being detected by his smell, but also to purify himself spiritually, enabling him to concentrate on the hunt. Sacred songs and prayers were also part of the pre-hunt activities. Such songs and prayers were designed to make the hunter lucky and to remind the hunted of one of their purposes as set forth by the Creator: to provide sustenance for His human creations. Using a bow and arrow and often wearing a deer-skin disguise, the hunter cautiously approached his prey, narrowing the range to improve his chances for a kill. The disguise consisted of a deerskin cape worn around the shoulders and a deer head headpiece.

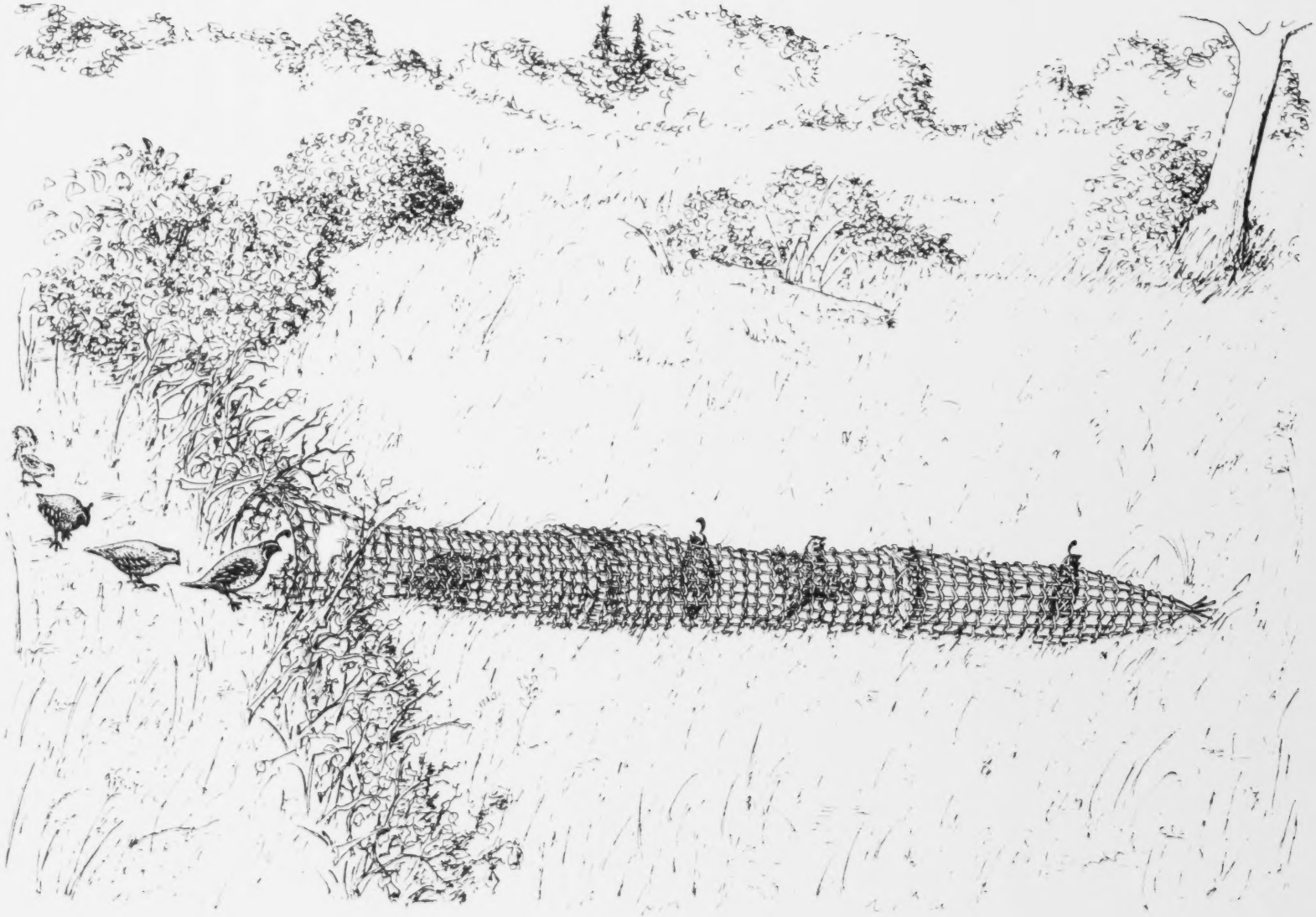
Besides the deer's meat, other parts were used as well. Hides were scraped for making buckskin, and sinew from the back and leg bones was made into bow strings, wrapping material, and sewing threads. The bones were also used. Leg bones were cracked and the marrow eaten with the remaining fragments made into awls used in basketry and hide work. Rib bones were used as scrapers to remove the sweat from the body when using the sweat house; the shoulder blade was used to scrape hides smooth and fine; and the antlers were made into wedges, as well as into a wide variety of other tools.

Various small mammals were also taken for food. Old people were especially fond of small game when specially prepared: the skin and entrails were removed, and the flesh pulverized and roasted over hot coals.

Rabbits, another favorite, were hunted with special tipped blunt arrows. In addition to a special arrow, rabbits were taken in large numbers using a rabbit net. This was a communal activity with women, older children, and men all participating. A long net was hung on bushes in an area which rabbits frequented, a few days before the hunt. People formed a semi-circle a good distance from the net and walked toward it shouting and beating the brush and grass with sticks, driving the rabbits into the net. The net was so constructed that it trapped the rabbits when they ran into it, catching them by the head or body in the openings. In addition to food, rabbits were hunted for their skins for woven blankets, sleeping robes and infant wear. The communal hunting of rabbits in large numbers also served to manage their population. Rabbits bred quickly, and since their foraging patterns were in competition with other animals, the control of their population through large scale rabbit drives prevented them from becoming a threat to the food needs of other animals.

Two kinds of quail were also trapped: valley and mountain. Being creatures of habit, quail had runs or paths they frequently traveled. Taking advantage of such patterns, a special funnel shaped, basketry trap, between 15 and 20 feet long was placed along known quail runs. Moving single file along the run, the quail marched into the trap following their leader. Reaching the end of the trap, they couldn't turn around, became anxious, and tried to fly or otherwise get out, only to further ensnare themselves by the head and/or wings in the trap's mesh-like openings (Plate 6). The topknots or plumes of male valley quail were also prized by women, who used them to decorate their finer coiled baskets. Some other birds trapped or

PLATE 6 - TRAPPING QUAIL



hunted with special arrows and eaten included the band-tailed pigeon, geese, robins, jays, and the meadowlark.

Between late spring and mid-summer, certain birds such as condors, eagles, robins, blue birds, and meadowlarks were hunted, not for food, but for feathers in ceremonial and decorated items, such as headdresses, capes, and feather baskets.

As summer progressed, the warm temperatures evaporated the water from the creeks forming isolated pools, concentrating the fish in the otherwise dry stream beds. Individual families fished the various pools using "poisons" made from turkey mullein or soap root plants. Women collected and ground the whole plant and placed it in a basket. Then, holding the basket in front of them, they swam around dispersing the poison in the pool. After about half an hour, the stupefied fish would float to the surface where they were scooped up by hand.

Fall: "Leaves Blowing Off Time"

As the long days of summer began to shorten, signaling the approach of autumn, people prepared for the important harvests that lay ahead. The most critical of these harvests was the acorn, the "staff of life" for all Pomoan peoples (Table 1). As one contemporary Dry Creek Indian noted:

TABLE 1. NUTRITIONAL VALUE OF SHELLED ACORNS

(after Baumhoff 1963:162)

SPECIES	NUTRITIONAL COMPOSITION (IN PER CENT)						
	WATER	PROTEIN	FATS	FIBER	CARBO-HYDRATES	ASH	TOTAL PROTEINS, FATS CARBO-HYDRATES
Lithocarpus densiflora -Tan Oak	9.0	2.9	12.1	20.1	54.4	1.4	69
Quercus lobata -Valley Oak	9.0	4.9	5.5	9.5	69.0	2.1	79
Q. garryana -Oregon Oak	9.0	3.9	4.5	12.0	68.9	1.8	77
Q. douglasii -Blue Oak	9.0	5.5	8.1	9.8	65.5	2.1	79
Q. chrysolepsis -Canyon Oak	9.0	4.1	8.7	12.7	63.5	2.0	76
Q. agrifolia -Coast Live Oak	9.0	6.3	16.8	11.6	54.6	1.8	78
Q. kelloggii -Black Oak	9.0	4.6	18.0	11.4	55.5	1.6	78
Barley	10.1	8.7	1.9	5.7	71.0	2.6	82
Wheat	12.5	12.3	1.8	2.3	69.4	1.7	84

> Acorns have fed us as far back as I can remember, even back before my mother's time, and even before that. The acorns were the main food for us in early days. Everyone ate acorn mush, old people, the parents, the teenagers, the children. It's the main food. It's eaten by itself or with deer meat or fish. At most every meal they ate acorn mush. They also made acorn bread (Peri and Patterson 1984:81).

Before harvesting, a "new acorn ceremony" was held, giving thanks for the harvest, followed by a "blessing" to insure future abundant harvests. It was necessary to properly store the nuts to last through the wet winter. They were stored whole in large outside granaries (Plate 7).

A series of steps were required to turn acorns into food: the nuts were cracked to remove the outer shell, winnowed in a basket to remove the inner skin, and ground, using a stone pestle, in a bottomless funnel-shaped basket placed on a stone slab. Several days worth of meal was then stored in a coiled basket.

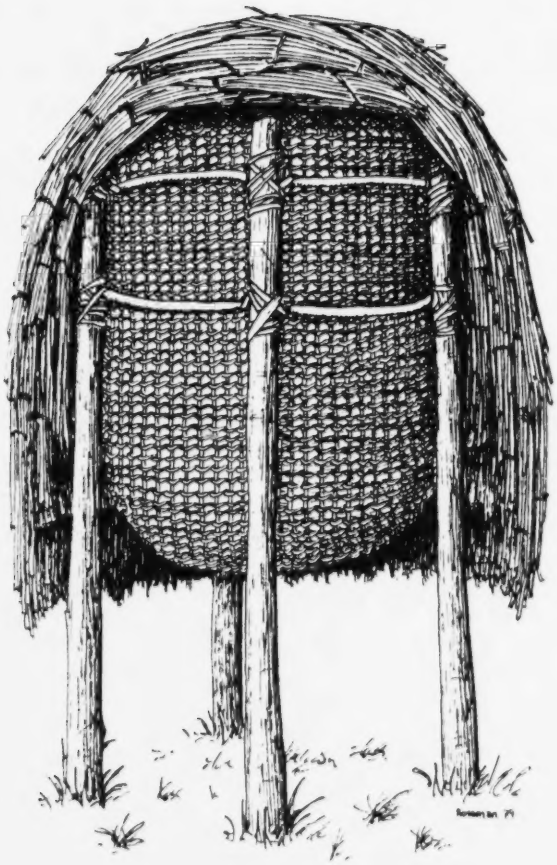
Due to the presence of the bitter and toxic tannic acid, acorn meal was leached in a shallow basin of sand. Water was slowly poured through a bundle of leaves into a basket, care being taken to prevent the meal from mixing with the sand. Leaching time depended upon the fineness of the meal, the species of acorn used, and the quantity being leached. Leaching continued until the proper "sweetness" was obtained; then it was ready for cooking.

Special, fire-heated rocks, handled with wooden tongs, were placed in a basket filled with meal and water. A wooden mush paddle was used to continually stir the stones, lest they burn the sides and bottom of the basket, and to evenly heat the mush. Acorn mush was eaten hot or cold from a basket bowl, with mussel shell spoons.

Acorns were also eaten in the form of bread baked in underground ovens. The meal was sometimes not leached, but was mixed with "Indian baking powder," a fine red

PLATE 7

ACORN CACHE



clay containing iron oxide which neutralized the toxins in the meal. Acorn bread was eaten by itself or with fish or deer meat, and was a favorite food of old people.

Salmon were also taken in the late fall, using harpoons and specially constructed traps.

Mid-summer, but especially through the fall, the black or cinnamon bear was hunted for its meat and hide. Although they were extremely hazardous, grizzly bears were occasionally hunted, principally for their hides. The hunting of bears, especially the grizzly, was associated with much ceremony, since they were thought to be human-like, with special powers in addition to their great strength and natural abilities.

After the first rains of fall had loosened the summer's sun-baked soil, women collected basket sedge "roots." The roots, or more accurately, the rhizomes of basket sedge (Carex barbarae) formed the basic material from which a wide variety of baskets were made (Peri and Patterson 1976).

Sedge roots, exhibiting qualities of length, pliability, strength, durability and ability to be split into thin strips, far surpass any of the other materials used by Pomoan women in weaving. In addition to the basketmaker's skill, much of the Pomoan's reputation for world wide excellence in basketry is based on the use of sedge. Although basket sedge is an important material in twined basketry, it is in coiled baskets that sedge is most significant. In coiled work,

> the perfection of the basket depends on the narrowness of the wrapping material, which regulates the fineness of the stick, on the closeness of the wrap itself, on the regularity of the coils, and on the taste displayed in the form and ornamentation (Curtis 1924:58).

The most desirable sedge roots grow in loose, shallow, sandy soils characteristic of the creek terraces bordering the creeks in the Warm Springs

Project Area. Under such conditions, sedge plants produce long, straight, and light-colored rhizomes, or "roots." Sedge tracts of this type were highly sought after. Such tracts yielded roots which were exceedingly strong yet very pliable, and because of the sandy soils were the easiest in which to dig.

The optimum collecting time was after the new spring growth had matured, typically from late summer until the beginning of winter's heavy rains. With the return of good weather in the spring, weavers resumed collecting the previous year's growth. Sedge collecting was sometimes a family affair with women, men, children, and old people all participating. The harvesting of sedge roots, like so many other aspects of Mihilakawna and Makahmo life, was guided by religiously supported rules. Sedge, like all other plants, were created and endowed by the Creator with life, purpose, and power; all persons were required to recognize and respect these special attributes.

Sedge root digging was like cultivating a garden; if the beds were not dug, other plants would invade and the sedge would not produce runners with the preferred characteristics. While collecting, branches, rocks, and the roots of other plants were removed so as to eliminate competition with the sedge. Collecting sites were also rotated from year to year. This fallow period allowed the sedge to send out new runners before being dug again. Collectors were also careful to replace plants accidently unearthed or small pieces of roots which occasionally broke off; if replanted, both would continue to grow. In addition to providing roots, the harvesting methods insured a yearly supply of the much needed rhizomes, while actually increasing the quantity and quality of the roots and size of the beds (Peri and Patterson 1976).

The California buckeye was an important late fall nut crop. Buckeyes grow abundantly throughout the Lake Sonoma area, and are heavy producers of large nuts or

seeds. Like acorns, they must be leached of toxins before eating. Prior to leaching, the husked nuts were baked, like acorn bread, in an underground oven. After baking, the nuts were mashed and leached, like meal. The cooked mush was eaten hot or cold.

Another fall nut crop was collected from the California bay-laurel or "pepperwood" tree. These trees, which grow throughout the greater Dry Creek drainage, often attaining great size, provided an edible nut meat. Like acorns, the pepperwood nut crop varied in size from year to year. Made into balls and cakes, they were eaten principally as a condiment with other foods such as clovers, acorn mush, buckeye meal, meat, and fish.

Other uses of pepperwood involved the leaves, which contain a pungent and volatile oil. A strong brew made from the leaves was applied directly to the body to ease aches and pains, while a milder tea was made from young, new leaves to soothe cold symptoms. Ceremonially, the leaves were believed to have the power to ward off supernatural sickness if rubbed on the body. Also, hunters rubbed themselves with the leaves to conceal their human odor so as to not alert their prey. When stored, feather baskets, skins, furs, and ceremonial materials were packed with pepperwood leaves to prevent insect damage.

The California hazel, common in the open hillside woods, provided not only highly nutritious nut meats, but useful basketry materials as well. Hazel sticks were used extensively in the construction of baby baskets. Hazel wood was also used in making bows and arrow shafts.

Other nut crops available in the fall included sugar and digger pine nuts. The nuts were sun dried for winter use. The roots of the digger pine were also used as weaving material, especially for the rims of carrying baskets and baskets used for grinding.

Fall also brought other plants into maturity. The cool weather caused the leaves of white willow to fall, signaling their readiness for cutting. Their long and slender shoots are remarkably strong and pliable, and can be tied into knots without breaking. They provided the basic weaving material used in a wide variety of baskets and other items as well. For basketry work, like fish and bird traps, the switches were collected in the fall when the "sap was down," as the sticks are harder at this time of year. For baskets of this type, the bark was left on, providing added strength and resistance to moisture, especially if the baskets were used in water, for example fishtraps and for carrying wet materials such as seaweed. Peeled willow cannot resist water, especially seawater, and rapidly deteriorates.

By the end of fall, the Mihilakawna and Makahmo had prepared themselves for winter by collecting the necessary foods and other materials to see them through the season.

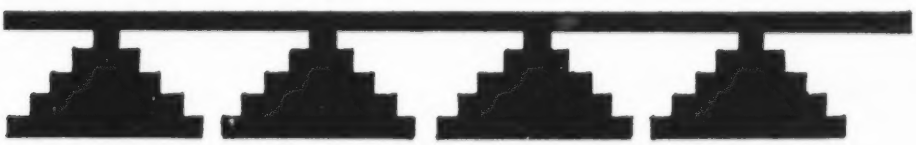
Winter: "World Sleeping Time"

The often cool wet winters of north-central California generally meant the end of collecting plant foods, although hunting was pursued on a limited scale. Winter was a time of relative immobility, as high levels in the waterways severely limited travel, and people were secure in their winter villages.

One notable exception to the general lack of available plant foods was the great profusion of mushrooms and other fungi that appeared after the rains. They provided a welcome supplement to a diet consisting mainly of dried and stored foods.

Winter was a time of repair. Men repaired hunting and fishing gear and ceremonial materials in addition to making new items for use in the coming seasons. Women also took advantage of the more sedentary season to work on baskets and make clothing, and other items.

Winter was also a time of emotional, ceremonial, and spritual renewal. Adult men and younger males gathered in the sweat house, while older and younger women and male and female children gathered in the living houses to hear again, or for the first time their sacred oral literature from their seniors. They heard of the divine creation of their world, had explained the actions of nature and the behavior of plants and animals, and were instructed in the proper ways of living and relating to each other, and those others, including the natural and supernatural occupants of their world. The Mihilakawna and the Makahmo gathered in great semi-subterranean buildings for the performance of rituals which made possible a way of life full of on-going meaning, continuity, and self renewal.



"Mountains"

Southern Pomo Basket Design"

CHAPTER II. CONTACT AND IMPACT

> The Indians' preservation of the land and its products for the ten thousand or more years of their undisputed occupancy was such that the white invaders wrested from them a garden, not the wilderness it salved their conscience to call it (Kroeber and Heizer 1968:24).

Early Exploration 1542-1769

The first Europeans to encounter the native peoples north of San Francisco were the Spanish, followed by the English, Russians, Mexicans, and finally, the Americans. From the early 1500s to the early 1800s, Europeans occasionally made sea voyages along the California coast, but only sometimes had contact with Indians. In 1542, Juan Cabrillo visited the area south of present-day Fort Bragg; and in 1579, Sir Francis Drake landed his ship, the Golden Hind, on the California coast, where he remained for over a month. During this time Drake exchanged gifts with Indians. His landing spot is still being sought, although some people believe it was at "Drake's Bay" on the Point Reyes peninsula. In 1595, Sebastian Cermeno ran aground near Point Reyes and Indians provided food for his crew. It was one hundred and seventy years later, in 1775, before the Spanish, through Juan Bodega Quadra, renewed contact with Indians, who were reportedly eager to barter furs for Spanish goods. All through these years, Spanish galleons on their trade routes had been passing by the California coast without stopping since, at this period, colonization was not yet considered important.

Spanish Period 1769-1822

The inland exploration of California began in 1769 when the Spanish moved northward from present-day Mexico, establishing missions as they went. The Spanish government in Madrid was now interested in colonization, particularly in

areas which were also of interest to other foreign powers. The government viewed the missions essentially as a means to transform the "uncivilized" Indians into civilized farmers and loyal subjects of the Spanish king. The major purpose of the missionaries, however, was to convert the "pagan" Indians to Christianity.

The Franciscan missionaries, beginning with Father Junipero Serra, eventually established a chain of missions reaching from San Diego to Sonoma. Three missions were established by the Spanish in the San Francisco-North Bay area beginning with Mission Dolores in San Francisco in 1776 (Map 3). Severe problems at Mission Dolores, particularly disease and "runaways" among the forcibly missionized Indians, led to the establishment of a branch mission at San Rafael. By 1823, the San Rafael Mission was self-supporting. An historian gives an account of a Makahmo (Cloverdale) Pomo "chief's" visit to the San Rafael Mission:

> About ten miles south of the great rock (Squaw Rock) near where now stands the beautiful village of Cloverdale, dwelt a tribe of Indians among whom was a young chief, a sort of Prince Imperial, whose name was Cachow. He was a fine looking fellow of faultless physique, a mighty hunter, skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, renowned for his prowess and rich in trophies of the chase as well as in the plunder of the battlefield. To all this hoard of wealth and personal accomplishments he had added the glamour acquired by a short sojourn at the mission of San Rafael, and many beads and other trinkets, the gifts of the kind "padres" of that once famous mission. (Palmer 1881:112)

In 1821, a Spanish land expedition under the command of Luis Arguello was sent into the northbay for the purpose of driving out Englishmen or Americans, who were rumored to be infiltrating the territory north of San Francisco. This expedition went north to Calistoga at the head of the Napa valley, and then journeyed west and south through the Santa Rosa plain. It was this journey that marked the earliest appearance of Europeans in the interior of Sonoma County.

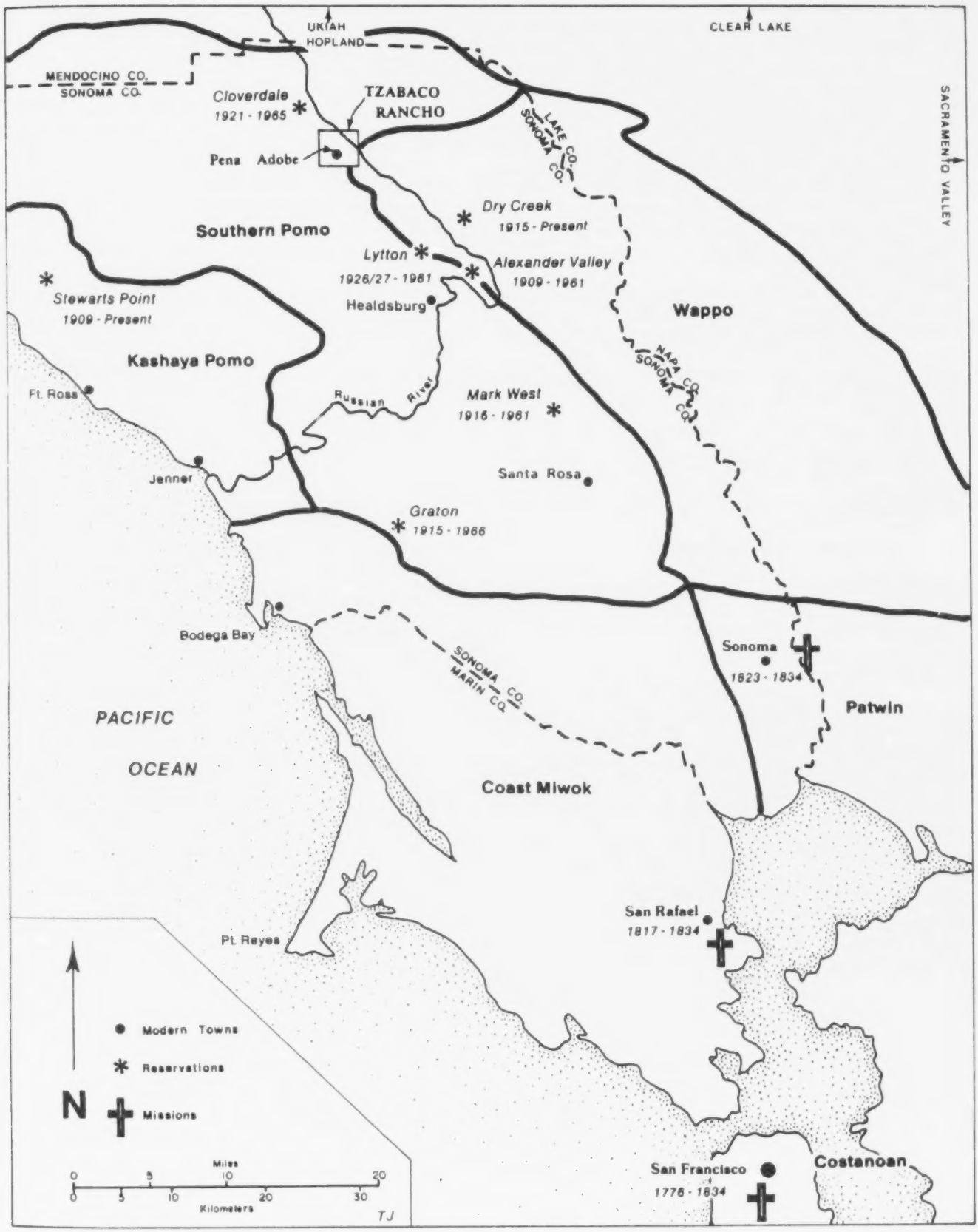
While the Spanish continued to expand into the interior of California, the Russians began establishing small colonial outposts on the north coast. These colonies were meant primarily to provide food for the Russian's northern settlements in Alaska, but they also hunted to get seal, sea otter, and sea lion furs for trade. One of the best known of these settlements is Fort Ross, founded in 1812, about 12 miles up the coast from the mouth of the Russian River (Map 3).

The local Indians' relationships with the Russians were markedly better than with the Spanish. The Russians are said to have established Fort Ross with the consent of the Kashaya Pomo who were anxious to form alliances which would protect them from the Spanish. Such relations with the Indians were important to the Russians in their small and vulnerable colony. Russian men intermarried with the Coast Miwok, Kashaya Pomo and Healdsburg Pomo Indians. The fort became a trading post for Indians, who exchanged food for liquor, trinkets, metalware, tobacco and weapons. The Russians began exploring the interior to locate suitable land for growing grain, establishing peaceful relations with the Indians as they went. The Russian explorer Kostromitonoff mentioned a large Russian River Valley Indian settlement called Makoma, referring to the principal town of the Makahmo Pomo near Cloverdale.

Mexican Period 1822-1846

The newly-formed Mexican government decided to establish a new mission in the north, partly as a peaceful means of asserting their authority against the Russians. An expedition headed by Jose Sanchez and accompanied by Father Jose Altamira was sent to pick a site for the new mission. In 1823, Mission Solano, the last of the missions, was established at Sonoma (Map 3). In 1827, August Duhaut-Cilly, the captain of a French exploratory vessel, anchored in San Francisco Bay and visited

MAP 3 MISSIONS, RANCHOS, RANCHERIAS



the Sonoma Mission to buy elk tallow. While there he noted the hostility of the local Indians toward the inhabitants of the mission:

> He (Father Fortuna) showed me the place where, a few days before, some wild Indians of the neighborhood had killed two men of the mission, shooting them with their arrows while asleep. This murder was attributed to the hatred that 'los gentiles' bear toward all the Christian Indians; but this time it appeared to be the result of revenge and reprisals.
>
> The Spanish government of California has always followed the atrocious system of ordering, from time to time, excursions to the settlements of the interior, either for retaking Indians escaped from the missions, or driving away 'los gentiles' by exciting terror among them; expeditions which, while costing the lives of some soldiers and many natives, have served but to nourish hatred (Carter 1929:242-243).

It was particularly during the years 1831-1832, that the conversion efforts of the Mission at Sonoma were directed at Southern Pomo speaking peoples such as the Mihilakawna and the Makahmo. Forced conversion of the Indians to Christianity was the mission policy, despite Indian resistance. Fugitives regularly escaped and their account of mission life made the surrounding tribelets fearful of the Spanish and Mexicans.

The missions established the basis for future European settlement and development of the northbay, and also set the pattern for the exploitation of Indian labor and the continued destruction of their way of life.

In 1833, Mariano Vallejo, then commander of the military establishment at San Francisco, was sent to strengthen Mexico's claim to the northern frontier and to counter the Russian presence at Fort Ross. Vallejo was also commissioned the administrator of the Mission at Sonoma, which was secularized in 1834. Mariano and his brother Salvador organized a series of military expeditions against hostile northbay Indian tribelets, extending the Mexican northern frontier into present-day Mendocino and Lake counties. As a result of the several successful campaigns

against some Southern Pomo speaking groups, especially the Sotoyomi (Healdsburg) Pomo, many Indians, seeing little choice, became allies of the Mexican Californians in their battles with other, hostile Indians.

In 1835, all the missions were secularized and the lands were taken over by civilians, most of whom viewed the Indians as sources of cheap labor or as virtual slaves. The emphasis of the military campaigns changed, becoming slave-hunting raids and retaliatory raids for stock theft by hungry Indians.

In addition to the deaths caused the Mexican-Indian wars, the native population of the northbay was drastically reduced during the Spanish-Mexican period by disease. In 1833, thousands of northern California Indians died from syphillis, introduced by the Spanish soldiers. In addition, an epidemic of smallpox spread from Fort Ross to Clear Lake and into the Sacramento Valley and as far as the slopes of Mount Shasta. An estimated 70,000 Indians died. The effect of these epidemic diseases was to effectually remove the Indians as a threat to further colonization.

In 1824, the colonization law was passed making available tracts of land for settlement and private ownership. Colonists were required to petition the Mexican governor of California, survey and map the limits of their proposed grant, called ranchos, and occupy or cultivate the land for varying lengths of time. Mexican grantees were more lenient masters than the missionaries had been, and Indians who worked unresistingly on the ranchos were, given the choices available, "reasonably content" and "adjusted to Rancho living" (Ferguson 1931:72). As the cattle herds increased, Indian men became ranch hands or even cowboys (vaqueros), and the women and children were servants in the households of the new landlords. It was not uncommon, however, when more laborers were needed, for the ranchero and his vaqueros to surround an Indian village, capturing needed laborers and killing those who

resisted. The Dry Creek and Cloverdale Pomo, like other Indians on the Mexican frontier, were in danger of being attacked and kidnaped at any time.

By the 1840s, there were five ranchos in Sonoma County. In 1843, Jose Pena submitted along with his petition to the governor a sketch map of a proposed 1500 acre grant, Rancho Tzabaco, in the Dry Creek Valley. The map shows two fields with an Indian village (or "rancheria") between them. This was probably Amalako, the principal town of the Mihilakawna Pomo of lower Dry Creek. Also shown on the south side of Pena's cornfield and near the present town of Geyserville, is another rancheria designated "Conogni." Further up the Russian River are drawn other indications of Indian life including a fish dam and two more rancherias. Apparently relations between Pena and the Dry Creek Pomo were good. Pena's brother had a common-law Indian wife, Juana Cook, a Makahmo Pomo. Contemporary Dry Creek Pomo recall that Pena helped some Indians escape a general roundup of local Indians for removal to the Round Valley Reservation during the 1850s.

However, the rancho period resulted in the formal dispossesion of the Indians from their lands, the exploitation of their labor, and subsequently, the loss of their way of life.

Early American Period 1846-1900

On June 14, 1846, the Bear Flag was raised at Sonoma signalling the beginning of the American revolt and the end of Mexican rule in California (Map 3). The early years of the American tenure in California saw the disruption of the previously established Mexican-Indian relationships, as poor as they were. Land ownership in the northbay centered around the Mexican ranchos, which typically supported a more or less permanent Indian population. The arriving American settlers saw the ranchos as barriers to their settlement of the rich agricultural lands of the

valleys. They also viewed the Indian population with mixed feelings. On the one hand, American settlers complained constantly about Indians stealing their livestock; and on the other hand, they looked forward to using Indians as a source of cheap labor.

It was during these early years that Indians were seized and legally enslaved as "indentured servants," and that the prevailing genocidal sentiments of this frontier society were expressed openly in the California governor's first annual address to the legislature in 1851:

> That a war of extinction will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian Race becomes extinct must be expected...the inevitable destiny of the Race is beyond the power or wisdom of man to overt (California 1851).

The prophetized extinction of the "Indian Race" almost became a reality. California brought the Indians under control by a series of laws that virtually enslaved them by providing for the indenture and servitude of so-called vagrant Indians. Although this harsh and aggressive policy provoked Indian retaliation, they were generally able to offer only piecemeal and haphazard resistance. The United States government's response to the conflict between the new settlers and California's native peoples, was to propose a reservation system where the Indians could be moved to live in relative safety under the control of the military. In 1851, Colonel Redick McKee, Indian agent for California, was commissioned to make treaties with California Indians. Although the members of McKee's treaty-making expedition maintained friendly relations with the Indians, they also recorded their conviction that the agricultural and mineral exploitation of the land was far more important than the fate of the native inhabitants:

> A sentiment of pity may lead us to commisserate the destiny of the ancient proprietor; but we cannot lament those occurrences which promise to convert any obscure province into a powerful State; or waste many tears upon the race which, grasping such vast possessions, was too indolent to nurture the agricultural wealth of the land, and had too little enterprise even to find the mineral that glittered at its feet (Heizer 1972:47).

Among the eighteen treaties negotiated by McKee throughout the state was the one "signed" by a majority of the Indians of the upper Russian River and Clear Lake regions. In general, the treaties provided that the California Indians would surrender the majority of their lands in exchange for supplies of food, blankets, and some 7,000,000 acres of unoccupied and unfarmable land scattered throughout the state. Congress, however, upon receipt of a deluge of protests from California citizens, who feared these worthless lands might contain gold, subsequently rejected the reservation plan for California and refused to confirm the treaties. It was fifty years before the Indians officially discovered that the treaties had never been signed. They were left without land, or any legal rights. From 1852 onward, the government was faced with the unsolvable problem of making the Indians self-sufficient without a land base and living in a society which sought to be rid of them.

By 1856, American settlers were entering the northbay region in such numbers that to lessen the chance of conflict with the Indians, the federal government again decided to settle the Indians of the area on two newly-established reservations. The first, selected in 1856, was the Mendocino Reservation, a three by eleven mile strip extending south along the coast and below the mouth of the Noyo River. In 1858, the Nome Cult Farm in Round Valley was given reservation status. Between 1855 and 1860, a concerted effort was made to relocate northbay Indians to these areas. Pomoan speaking peoples from the Russian River Valley and the Clear

Lake area were "rounded up" and "driven" north, suffering great hardships that are still today told in stories handed down from one generation to the other. One contemporary Mihilakawna elder woman recalled the story told by her old people of the tragedy they referred to as the "Death March;"

> They (white people) rounded up all the Indians along Dry Creek. They (Dry Creek Indians) hid all their grinding stones when white people came in. When they (whites) drove them (Dry Creek Indians) away they buried their grinding stones, rocks and pestles. They (white people) drove all the Indians away, rounded them up just like cattle, didn't even feed them (i.e., when whites rounded up and drive their cattle they fed them or at least let them eat along the way, but they did not do this for the Indians). Treated them awful bad. They drove them to Clear Lake. They drove them. They (whites) rode horses; the soldiers rode horses. There were soldiers there. Soldiers were real mean: they whipped them, hurried them, made them hurry along the way, didn't even let them rest, they whipped them. Many people died along the way. My grandfather (Joe Bill) dug a shallow grave for this old lady, who wanted to be buried with this basket she carried along with her. It was slow walking lots of old people, young children, they were scared, tired, very hungry. They didn't know one day from another, they were so scared. Those mean white people. They starved out (while at Clear Lake), ate berries, manzanita berries, tules (tule roots). They escaped. They walked back (Theodoratus et al. 1975:51-52).

The reservations in California were poorly administered, filled with corruption, and fraught with a host of other problems as well. The food rations were inadequate and the reservation lands could not provide enough native foods. As soon as they could, Indians left the reservations and walked home. Since the settlers had homesteaded and taken "legal" possession of what had been the Indians' land, Indians were afraid to return to their former towns. Many returnees formed Indian settlements on land "owned" by white settlers. These "rancherias" existed so long as the landowners tolerated them.

The usual living pattern at this time was to stay home on the rancherias during the winter and, beginning in the spring, to tr vel from seasonal job to job until

fall. For some Indians, stealing livestock was their only means of making a living, resulting in harsh retaliation upon any convenient group of Indians.

The practice of kidnaping Indian women and children was widespread at this time, especially in Sonoma, Mendocino and Lake counties. These slave raids increased with the passage of an 1860 California law that legalized the indenture of Indian prisoners of war and those who had no settled habitation or means of livelihood. White overseers were to have custody and control of the earnings of such Indians although they were required to clothe them and provide the necessities of life (unspecified). The tragic stories from this period are still remembered and told today by many Indian families.

The United States census of 1860 records list only three young Indian children living in the Dry Creek area, due both to the forced removal to the reservation in the 1850s, and to child stealing and the understandable reluctance of Indians to provide information to outsiders. The few Indians recorded in that census from the Dry Creek area were living with white settlers, probably working as laborers and servants. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, the conditions under which the northbay Indians existed remained deplorable. An 1870s observer described the situation of the "Misalla Magun" (Makahmo or Cloverdale) Pomo:

> The Misalla Magun occasionally commit infanticide to this day, for they say they do not wish to rear any more children among the whites. There seems to have fallen on them a great and bitter despair, so far as their natures are capable of entertaining any profound emotion: they see themselves slowly and surely throttled by the white man with his busy engines, his vast enterprises, his thundering locomotives; all their fine broad valleys wrenched from them with bloody violence; themselves jostled, elbowed back, crushed to earth; all their rich nutbearing forests filled with the swarming flocks and herds of the avaricious and never resting American, consuming the acorns which are their subsistence, and for presuming to gather off lands which were their own from time immemorial, and for which they have never received the compensation of one poor dollar, they have sometimes been pursued and shot until death like jackels. They see themselves swiftly dwindling,

> dwindling, melting away before some mysterious and pathless power, which they can neither comprehend nor resist; they foresee that they can leave to their degraded and unhappy offspring nothing but a heritage of contempt, isolation, and discontent; and in the voiceless and unreasoning bitterness of their 'small-knowing souls,' in mere sullen 'dumb despair,' they resolve to cut off in unconscious infancy from a fate so miserable and so sad (Powers 1877:183-184).

In 1880, thirty-five Indians were living in Mendocino Township (the Dry Creek area). In the neighboring Cloverdale Township, sixty Indians were living on white-owned ranches. As the white population of Sonoma County increased, they became intolerant of even the few Indians remaining in the area. In 1895, white residents petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to remove the local Indians to the Round Valley Reservation in Mendocino County. The petition claimed that the Indians in the Russian River Valley and near Healdsburg and Geyserville were an unbearable burden; however, there is no record that the Secretary acted on the petition.

In the short span of twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, northbay Indians had witnessed the taking of their land, the loss of their livelihood, the killing of their people, the kidnaping of their children, their forced removal from their homes, and the end of their way of life. The decades that followed saw little improvement in their lives. Although the acts of overt genocide ceased, the future brought continued social, political, economic and cultural repression.

Rancheria Period

It was not until the early 1900s that the first pro-Indian groups began to organize and demand reform within the federal agencies responsible for Indian affairs. These groups, in their investigations, found that of the estimated 330,000 California Indians living at the time of the first European contact, there remained only 15,000. At least half of these individuals were landless and considered to be

trespassers on the public domain. Only 15 per cent of the total received any kind of public assistance, meager as it was.

The census of 1900 lists only twenty-two Indians living in both the Mendocino and Cloverdale townships. Although there were undoubtedly others, they were not recorded due to their migratory work patterns. For most individuals, earning a living meant leaving their home areas and living in or near one of the local towns. As a result, Dry Creek and Cloverdale Indians ceased to exist as such in the minds of whites and became in general "just those Indians." Although there was continued pressure on such groups as the Mihilakawna and the Makahmo to give up their language and their cultures, they steadfastly maintained certain aspects of their way of life, which significantly aided in their survival. Without their continued knowledge and use of native plants and animals, they would have starved, since non-native foods were difficult to obtain. The traditional emphasis placed on the value of interpersonal and intergroup relationships provided the social, psychological and economic support that enabled them to live through such difficult and painful times.

The purchase of tracts of land for individual homesites (the current meaning of rancheria) for California's "landless Indians" was the result of a 1905 survey of the needs of California's "homeless Indians," authorized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These small parcels of undesirable and isolated land were meant to be only homesites, not subsistence bases, since the parcels were too small for farming and usually lacked sufficient water. In 1915, the seventy-five acre Dry Creek Rancheria near Geyserville was purchased by the federal government, and in 1921 the twenty-five acre Cloverdale Rancheria was established (Map 3).

Whether the Indians lived on or off the rancherias, the pattern of work remained essentially the same. Men worked as general laborers on the cattle

ranches, fruit orchards and vegetable farms, fished commercially, or worked in lumbering. Women, besides maintaining their homes, worked in the fruit, vegetable and hop harvests. A noticeable change for Indian women, after the turn of the century, was that they worked in their own homes instead of as domestics in the homes of ranchers. The summer work with field crops was socially as well as economically important. Groups of relatives would set up camp on various ranches, moving from one to another as the crops matured. These moving camps included other northbay Indian peoples, and it was during these times that cooperative social networks were formed and political ties established. Following a modified traditional leadership pattern, a group of men at each of the camps was selected to represent the workers to the ranch owner. This group had the responsibility for keeping peace at the camp as well as trying to improve living and working conditions on the ranches. When the seasonal work was over, people returned to the rancherias or to their homes on the fringes of towns. This seasonal living and work pattern was somewhat similar to that practiced before the coming of the Europeans.

The continuing traditional practices of hunting, fishing and collecting were severely restricted by regulations and trespass laws. Coastal foods were still the most available and continued to be collected. Other cultural practices continued, including the art of basketmaking. Baskets were made not only for traditional purposes (e.g., as gifts, to mark special occasions, and as payments for goods and services) but also for commercial sale. The sale of Pomoan baskets began in the 1880s and they have continued to be in demand by collectors to the present.

However, access to sedge and willow sites, like the access to hunting and food collecting areas, was restricted by landowners, and the sources were and are constantly being eroded by cultivation, cattle grazing, and other commercial land uses.

The 1924 Citizenship Act finally granted full United States citizenship to Indians. Before 1921, most school districts refused to admit Indian children. For the most part, they could only receive an education when there was an Indian Department Day School nearby, or if the children were sent away to boarding school. There was no day school close enough for the Dry Creek or Cloverdale children to attend, and many parents were understandably reluctant to send their children away. Finally in 1934, all restrictions preventing Indians from attending public school were removed. Although the Indians were now free to pursue an education, it did not, of course, free them from having to endure racist attitudes and other prejudices from teachers and students alike.

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization At was passed. It required Indian groups to adopt a tribal council system of representation, and provided for the organization of tribes as business corporations. The act did not meet Indian needs in areas such as health, education, water and redress of past grievances. In the late 1930s and 1940s, times improved, principally because of World War II. There was increased employment opportunities for everyone, including Indians. However, they still faced open discrimination and racism, similar to that experienced by Blacks in the southern United States.

In 1958, one more attempt was made to solve the "Indian Problem" by legislating it away. The Rancheria Act authorized a procedure by which Indian groups could vote to terminate their ties to the government and transfer the ownership of the rancherias from the government to individual private ownership. The ultimate goal of this, as of much previous legislation, was to speed the process of assimilating the Indians into the general culture and to eliminate their remaining tribal and cultural bonds. Two of the rancherias in Sonoma county did not vote for termination, Dry Creek and Stewart's Point (Map 3).

One result of termination was a relocation program for Indians sponsored by the federal government. Indians were encouraged to move from the rancherias to selected cities, where they were offered a small subsidy and job training, and encouraged to merge with the non-Indian work force and white society. Indians, who were born into, raised, and lived out their lives in mutually cooperative and supportive groups of relatives and close friends, suddenly found themselves living in cities (e.g., San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, etc.), for which they were ill-prepared. They were aliens living in the midst of thousands who were themselves suffering from alienation. The end result of the Relocation Program was failure; the problems of urban city life once limited to non-Indians, were extended to "urban Indians" as well.

In the 1960s and 1970s various benign pieces of legislation were passed, making available health and legal services as well as to protect Indian burial sites and sacred places.

Today

Many of the Mihilakawna and Makahmo Pomo born in the 1930s and 1940s completed high school, attended community and other colleges and entered professional careers. With few exceptions, these individuals are geographically or socially in or near local towns which offer opportunities and advantages beyond the reach of those living on rancherias or in rural areas.

For their own reasons, the larger society that Indians are a part of, beginning in the 1950s, placed value on what they understood to be traditional Indian culture, meaning mainly religious philosophy and practices and "lore," especially material culture including arts and crafts. Although the larger society defined what it was to be an Indian, restricting the meaning to a romantic and non-threatening

interpretation, Indians of these generations are responsible for revitalizing what they always understood to be their traditional culture: a stable but changing way of life which offered success in the present and for the future.

This renewed awareness by all age groups of Indians is expressed in part by their attendance and participation in various Indian social, cultural and ceremonial events; renewed interest in their own language as a form of cultural expression and identity; a greater valuing of their elders as scholars of their traditions; and the teaching and learning of various aspects of material culture, especially basketry (Plate 8). For the Mihilakawna and Makahmo Pomo, their participation in the study and management of their heritage at Lake Sonoma is an important example of Indians attempting to preserve their unique identities, while contributing to American society as a whole.

The establishment by the Corps of Engineers of plant preserves at the lake for basketry and other Pomoan cultural practices, is an excellent application of the letter and the spirit of federal historic preservation laws and regulations. Basketry is the last obvious symbol which links the past with the present, and a means of providing a vision of the future. Although these particular cultural expressions are important, a traditional value of greater significance is being reasserted today: the importance of each individual realizing their life goals, while reaffirming their allegiance and responsibility to each other, and in having sovereignty over their own culture, history and future.

PLATE 8

A MAKAHMO WEAVER AT HOME - 1980

Elsie Allen with the Basketry Art of Three Generations of Weavers

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THE POMO INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA AND THEIR NEIGHBORS, by Vinson Brown and Douglas Andrews, Naturegraph Publishers, Healdsburg, CA. 1969

THE NATURAL WORLD OF THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS, by Robert Heizer and Albert Elsasser, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA. 1980

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THE ENDURING STRUGGLE, INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY, by George H. Phillips, Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, San Francisco, CA. 1981

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TIME BEFORE TIME: Prehistory and Archaeology in the Lake Sonoma Area, by Suzanne B. Stewart, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, San Francisco District, San Francisco, CA. 1985.

BEFORE WARM SPRINGS DAM: A History of the Lake Sonoma Area, by Mary Praetzellis, Adrian Praetzellis, and Suzanne B. Stewart, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, San Francisco District, San Francisco, CA. 1985.

GONE, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: Historical Glimpses of the Lake Sonoma Area, by Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, San Francisco District, San Francisco, CA. 1984.

RECOMMENDED MUSEUMS AND PLACES TO VISIT

Museums

California State Indian Museum (at Sutter's Fort). 2618 K Street, Sacramento, California

DeYoung Memorial Museum. Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California

Edwin Langhart Museum (Healdsburg Historical Museum). 133 Matheson Street, Healdsburg, California

Held-Poage Memorial Home. 603 West Perkins Street, Ukiah, California

Lake County Museum. Second and Lake, Lakeport, California

Mendocino County Museum. 400 East Commercial Street, Willits, California

Native American Museum. Santa Rosa Junior College, 1501 Mendocino Avenue, Santa Rosa, California

Oakland Museum. 1000 Oak, Oakland, California

Point Reyes National Seashore Visitor Center. Bear Valley Road, Point Reyes Station, California

Sebastiani Museum. Sebastiani Vineyards, 389 Fourth Street East, Sonoma, California

Sonoma County Museum. 425 Seventh Street, Santa Rosa, California

Sun House. 431 South Main Street, Ukiah, California

Lake Sonoma Visitor Center. 3333 Stewarts Point-Skaggs Springs Road, Geyserville, California.

Places

Adobe State Historic Park. 3325 Adobe Road, Petaluma, California

Fort Ross State Historic Park. 19005 Coast Highway One, Jenner, California

Mission San Francisco de Assis. 3321 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California

Mission San Francisco de Solano. 20 East Spain, City of Sonoma (Pueblo de Sonoma), California

Mission San Rafael Arcangel. 1104 Fifth Avenue, San Rafael, California

Native American Heritage of the Sonoma County Region. Steele Lane, Coddingtown Shopping Mall, Northeast Entrance; Santa Rosa, California

RECOMMENDED FILMS

(Available from the University of California Extension Media Center, Berkeley, CA. 94720)

ACORNS: STAPLE FOOD OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS. COLOR, 28 MINUTES.

This film shows Pomo Indians carrying out the processes of gathering, storing, and processing the acorns which formed the staple food for three-quarters of the Indians in California. Ca. # 5804.

BASKETRY OF THE POMO--INTRODUCTORY FILM. Color, 33 minutes.

This film shows how the baskets of one of the world's most expert basket making cultures were made, from the gathering of materials to the finished product. Cat. # 5801.

BEAUTIFUL TREE-CHISHKALE. Color, 20 minutes.

Southwestern Pomo demonstrate the processing of acorn into food, including the making of acorn bread. The findings of archaeologists are correlated with what is known by present day Indians, to show both techniques and the importance of acorns to the Indian way of life. Cat. # 6479.

DREAM DANCES OF THE KASHIA POMO. Color, 30 minutes

Kashaya Pomo women dancing the Hand Power dance, Star Hoop dance, Feast Dance, Marriage dance and War Flag dance are shown in this film. The contemporary beliefs which inspire these dances are expressed and ethnological comment is made. Cat. #6461.

GAME OF STAVES. Color, 10 minutes.

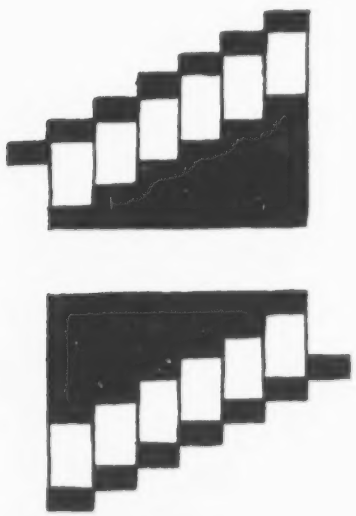
A gambling game resembling dice which was played over most of North America is the subject of this film, in which the players are Pomo boys. Cat. # 5805.

KASHIA MEN'S DANCES; SOUTHWESTERN POMO INDIANS. COLOR, 40 MINUTES.

Both motion pictures and reproductions of still photographs taken in the early part of the century are used in this film, which demonstrates post-contact dance development among the Kashaya Pomo. The Toto, the Lehuye, the Big Head, and the Ball dances are shown. Cat. # 5904.

POMO SHAMAN. 20 minutes.

This film shows a portion of a curing ceremony by Essie Parrish, a Pomo shaman. Cat. # 6464.



"Quail Tops"

Southern Pomo Basket Design